

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION
UNDER THE
CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

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**/THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF A DYNASTY
OF KINGS OBLIGED TO FACE INEVITABLY WARS
AND ADVERSITIES, BUT COULD OVERCOME THEM
BY THEIR VALOUR, WISDOM AND WELL ORGANISED
ADMINISTRATION AND BUILD THE FIRST LARGEST
EMPIRE IN KARNATAKA IN THE 6TH, 7TH AND
8TH CENTURIES A.D. 7½**

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PREFACE

In this thesis an effort is made to glean information afforded by epigraphical and literary sources bearing on the organisation of government, nature of State and sovereignty^v of kings under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and show how they developed the political traditions of their predecessors, the Kadāmbas.

Karnāṭaka, since the historic times has been known for rich traditions in polity as in the other fields of human achievement like in art, architecture, economy, philosophy and religion. Karnāṭaka really held an eminent position in world culture. The history of the region from the Mauryas and the Śātavāhanas bear ample testimony to the above point.

This thesis is an attempt to make^a comprehensive and critical study of the Government and Administration based on a detailed study of the original sources - published and unpublished epigraphical records - foreign writings, Indian literary works on administration and polity and works of modern scholars - foreign and Indian - relating to the original works and also the various aspects of the history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, a list of which is given in the Bibliography, appended to the thesis.

This thesis attempts to emphasize that notwithstanding several political changes in the history of Karnāṭaka, the government and administrative organisation had common elements - common to the Indian traditions and thought - and that the political traditions were inherited from the Kadambas and improved upon by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and that they were thereafter adopted by the Rāshtrakutas in the tenth century A.D.

The thesis relates to the working of central government and administration in the dominions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, covering a period of study from the middle of the sixth century A.D. to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. The area covered by it is the territory of the Kannada speaking people of southern India which extended from Gujarat in the north to Banavāsi in the south and the coastal region in the west to the western frontier of the Pallava dominions in the east, with the off-shoots of their dynasty in vengi and Gujarat.

In this direction, it is felt that apart from sectional treatment of the history of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, in Indian history volumes, such an attempt on the government and administration of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi in minute details has not been made so far. While deducing certain conclusions on this aspect, I am to admit that they are not entirely categorical.

In preparing the thesis, I am directly indebted to the works of eminent authors like Dr. Fleet, Mr. B.L. Rice, Dr. A.L. Basham, Dr. G.M. Moraes, Dr. F.V. Mahalingam, Dr. A.S. Altekar, Dr. P.B. Desai, Mr. V. Lakshmi Narayana Rao, Prof. R.S. Pancharatnam, Dr. R. Gopal, Dr. B.C. Meenakshi, Dr. G.S. Dikshit, Dr. B.R. Gopal, Dr. ~~B.R. Gopal~~, Dr. Srinivas Ritti and others.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Section: I. POLITICAL TRADITIONS

Although the political history of some of the early dynasties that ruled in South India in general and Karnataka in particular has been attempted by some scholars, no special efforts have been made so far to present a detailed and critical account of the Government and administration of such kingdoms. In view of this, ^{we} I feel it necessary to deal with the subject concerning one of such dynasties viz., the Chalukyas of Badami who were eminent rulers, exercising their sway over a large part of Peninsular India.

Government and political institutions of the Kingdoms of Karnataka were generally organised according to the doctrines and tenets laid down by the ancient law-givers in their treatises on Political Science, like the Arthasāstra of Kautilya, the Mahābhārata, and Manu - Smṛiti. Though the ph^haseology and nom^ein^eelature of the administrative institutions and their procedure differ to an extent in certain respects in different regions, on the whole the general pattern was basically the same.

The concept of Sovereignty in earlier and modern states has played a prominent role. It has been the 'crux' of several political problems. Political

theorists of the West have contributed a good deal on the different aspects of Sovereignty. A few of them have argued that this element of the State may be found located in the King himself and that it is permanent, inalienable and absolute. On the other hand, many modern thinkers have supported the Pluralistic theory and also agree that, in a State, there should be a supreme central authority to decide disputes. As far as the Indian environment is concerned, the King (prabhu) represented Sovereign authority, but he was never absolute. Commenting on the nature of kingship in ancient India, Dr. Beni Prasad observes that, "as against the monistic theory, ~~only a pluralistic theory~~, only a pluralistic theory can grasp the Indian phenomena"¹. The state (rājya) was one of the groups; the individual belonged to the group; dharma, virtue or duty were the principles lying at the root of the social and moral order; what is more significant is that law conceived on the basis of such principles is above all individuals and groups and even the Sovereign authority, the King himself. Indian social thought was pre-eminentely ethical in motive. Polity was based on the ethics of a whole society centering round the sense of duty that men should perform towards the entire society. The ancient Indian king was the upholder of law and maintained the social order, with the primary -

responsibility of punishing evildoers and winning respect for authority. Similarly, the people had belief in the doctrine of 'karma' which was the sole guiding force of their actions. It is this feature of their normal life which has made Dr.A.L.Basham say that 'the ancient Indian ideal was closely linked up with the doctrine of 'karma' and it is something very different from the organic theory of the State'². Awareness and adherence to some of the fundamental concepts of ancient Indian Polity may well be seen in the organisation of Government and administration under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The entire mass of records on Public organisation of the Chālukya kingdom, when considered as a whole, provide useful information on the subject. The foregoing chapters are an attempt to glean, from the available material, information, to the best possible extent.

The Chālukyas of Bādāmi are indebted to some extent to the Kadambas of Banavāsi, in their procedure of organising their administrative system. The latter were their immediate predecessors. They must have set up an administrative system to suit their kingdom. Their kingdom consisted of four divisions - the North, East, West and South comprising the present districts of Shimoga, N. Kanara, Dharwar and Belgaum³. So, a system of territorial administration must have also become a necessity, in addition to that of the central

authority. The kings and princes of the family must have received training in the art of Government. Many of the princes were known for their scholarly pursuits. Some of the other important features of their provincial and local administration included, supervision over officials, transfers of governors, organisation of the towns and the nāḍus or districts. Such political tradition and method of administration must have had their impact on the Chālukya Government. The Chālukyas, like their predecessors, aspired to establish supremacy over a greater part of the country. They organised a mighty military and naval force for defence of the kingdom and making wars with their neighbours when inevitable. Again the Chālukya kings issued a large number of charters and made gifts of land which point out to the existence of a central office for engraving and preserving the records. Several kings after Pulakesi I took titles of distinction and designations indicating their supreme authority. The Chālukyas were placed in a better position than the Kadāmbas to inherit administrative elements and improve them to a large extent. These elements were subsequently absorbed into the governmental machinery of the ^hRāṣṭrakūṭa Kingdom. As the Chālukyas of Bādāmi were the immediate inheritors of the large and wealthy kingdom of the Kadāmbas, the former adopted their political traditions and subsequently improved upon it to suit the needs of the empire.

Section: II. EARLIER DYNASTIES

The Śātavāhanas were an eminent early dynasty that ruled in South India whose dominions covered many parts of Karnataka. These territories were later inherited by the Kādāmbas who founded a big kingdom in western Karnataka. They ruled approximately from the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D. Their kingdom extended from the river Kāverī to the Kṛishṇā and the Tūṅgabhadra i.e. the central portion of the tableland in the South.

The founder of the Kādāmba dynasty was Mayūṛasharma. He became independent of the Pallavas. His grandson, Kākusthavarma was a ruler of eminence. He contracted matrimonial alliances with renowned dynasties of the north like the Vākatakas and the Guptas. His son and successor was Śāntivarma. In a copper plate inscription of about A.D. 450, ascribed to Śāntivarma he is described as 'Samagra Karnātakadeśābhuvargabhartāram' (the lord of the entire Kannada land)⁴, we get a reference here that he held sway over the Kannada country. He was succeeded by a few successful rulers. In course of time this dynasty came to an end making room for the Chālukyas of Bādāmi in about A.D. 540. The Chālukyas raised the political prestige of Karnataka by their valour, ambition and achievements. They established their supremacy over

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a great part of South India and thus gained a status and position of national importance.

Section: III. A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

(1) ORIGIN:

Though the origin and early home of the Chālukyas of Badami is shrouded in mystery, their inscriptions provide some information on this point, however, inadequate they may be. The original name of the dynasty as given in their early records occurs in different forms. They are for instance, Chālukya⁵, Chalukya⁶, Chāluka⁷, Chalukya⁸ and Chalokya⁸. Of these, the more familiar ones are Chālukya and Chalukya which have been broadly accepted and often used in historical writings.

As to the origin of the name 'Chalukya', several opinions have been offered by scholars. On a term which is mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda inscription, namely, 'Chalki' referring to one Khanda Remanaka, it is held that he may be a Western Chālukya prince. But it is not possible to connect this person with the Chālukyas of the 6th Century A.D. At best the term suggests its antiquity and regional association. Similarly an attempt to make out a relationship of the Chālukyas with Chalukki Vādar of Velāpuram has also not received much support. Opinions

suggesting the foreign origin of the Chalukyas have no basis of facts.

The epigraphical records of the Chalukyas of Badami⁹ contain a legendary account of their origin. Allowing a margin for the conventional phraseology and poetic descriptions in their inscriptions, the Chalukyas may be regarded as having been born out of the 'Chaluka'¹⁰ or water pot of the sage Hariti-Panchasikha when he was offering a libation to the Gods. The origin of the term 'Chuluka' is given by Bilhana with a slight variation¹¹. He says that the ancestor of the Chalukyas was born in the 'Chuluka' of Brahma who is said to have created a here at the request of Indra to put down the wicked. However, it may be concluded that the derivation of the term 'Chalukya' from the legendary expression 'Chuluka' is only a poetic expression.

The Chalukyas are described in their records¹² as laying their claim to be Haritiputras. The prefatory passages of the prasasti of Pulakesi I reads as "Manavya-sagotranam, Haritiputranam + Sapta-loka-matribhiḥ-abhivaradhi-tanam-Kartikeya parirakshana prapta-kalyana-paramparanam bhagavannarayana-prasada-samastita-varaha-lancha..." ! It is also noteworthy in this context that the above statements are found in the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Banavasi, who were the predecessors of the Chalukyas

epithets/

of Bādāmi. The former are said to have belonged to the kindred of Mānavya and received protection by the seven divine mothers. The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngi, however, have also adopted the above references in their records. All these prove conclusively that the Chālukyas of Bādāmi possessed plenty of affinities with the Kadam̄bas and were purely an indigenous clan. They claim to have belonged to Mānavya gōtra. They were nourished by the Seven ^Mmothers. They acknowledge to have acquired prosperity through the favour and protection ^{of} i.e. Svami Mahāsena i.e., God Kārtikēya. They adopted the Bear (Varaha) as their Crest, which they secured through the favour of God Nārāyana or Vishnu. Further, in a later record, the Chālukyas also claim to belong to the lineage of Sōma (moon). They were an indigenous family and held the status of Ksh^atriyas. They also claim to have purified themselves by ablutions after performing sacrifices.

(11) EARLY HOME:

Scholars have different opinions on the early home of the Chālukyas. Some are of the opinion on the strength of later records that they came from the north (Ayodhya)¹³. A few others attribute the Andhra region (i.e. Mudivenu) as their first home¹⁴. Mr.H.Krishna Sastri thinks that a place in the Tamil country could be their early home¹⁵ on the strength of the title 'Madhura Karnāṭaka' borne by

? the Pandyan King Shedaili grand father of Nedunjedial^y.
 But the inscriptions of the Chalukyas do not mention only
 not clear | Karnataka as one of the Provinces ^{where they ruled} but several kingdoms
 in the South. The first view derives support from the
 conventional mode of tracing one's ancestry and home to
 hoary past. The second view may be taken only as a later
 usage or resulting from ^{the} practice of the founders of a
 dynasty (for instance the Eastern Chalukyas) trying to
 win the co-operation of the native people by appealing to
 the sense of native affinity. The third is only a
 suggestion and cannot be supported by evidence.

Evidence from epigraphical records of the Chalukyas
 of Badami help us to locate their early home. The Neguti
 inscription¹⁶ describes the location of Badami, the
 Capital and its surroundings. Other towns of Chalukya
 power like Aihole and Kisuvalal are mentioned in the
 records. Another inscription, that of Pulakesi I on a
 boulder in the fort of Badami dated A.D. 543-4 states
 that Pulakesi I built the Capital and fort of Badami¹⁷.
 Even Pulakesi I, the founder of Badami was in all
 probability an officer under the Kadamba king before he
 could establish independent authority. Badami is located
 in the Kannada-speaking country. The Chalukyas were a
 Kannada people. Their monarchs have taken the names
 Pulakesi, Buddhavarasa, Kokkali, Bittarasa etc. These

terms are distinctly Kannada terms. Similarly, a good number of other words in their records prove their association with the land of their rule. Hence, Baḍami and its vicinity happens to be their earliest place of habitation [Appendix 1].

It may be therefore concluded that the Chalukyas were an indigenous people and not immigrants. They lived in the central portion of the table land of the Deccan and western part of Southern India. They were, like the Kadambas an indigenous family. Even some kings belonging to the main Chalukya dynasty ruling elsewhere held certain names and titles which are purely of Kannada origin and usage¹⁸. The Chalukya family round about Vemulavada had a king who took the title 'arasa' and another king took a similar title, namely 'Priyagollak'. Some other terms are 'Ereyya', 'Yambura' etc. These titles are distinctly Kannada words. Pulakesi's brother was Buddavarasa who bore the title 'Madanangasraya' which is also a Kannada word. Another notable observation is that the Chalukya kings made use of Kannada for the first time for purposes of Official records. The great Rastrakutas, who succeeded the Chalukyas maintained the traditions and continued the name, 'Karnata' a Chalukya word as a prefix for the term 'army' (Karnataka bala). The Chalukya kings continued the political traditions of the Kadambas, their predecessors. They encouraged Kannada language, script

and literature. Their inscriptions are largely in Kannada. The ^hRa^hstrak^hūtas continued their traditions of military organisation, ^{and} art of warfare, encouraged Kannada language and literature, and culture of their predecessors. In short, the ^hCh^halukyas were one with ^hK^harnataka and largely contributed to its future progress. A strange people coming and settling down on the regions of South India will not be in a position to identify themselves so quickly and in so short a period with the ^hK^harnataka region, its language and culture.

(111) POLITICAL HISTORY

Before we proceed to describe the Government and administrative organisation of the ^hCh^halukyas of ^hB^hād^hāmi, it would be useful to provide a brief sketch of the political history of the dynasty.

The ^hCh^halukyas of ^hB^hād^hāmi commenced their political career in the 6th century A.D. Their rule covers a period of nearly 200 years, interrupted by a brief gap of 13 years between A.D. 642 to 655. During these two centuries of their regime they succeeded in bringing about the political unity of the Kannada country. Earlier, the ^hS^hātav^hāhanas had established their political power in the period from about the 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. and ruled a large part of South India. After the downfall of the ^hS^hātav^hāhana power, ^hK^harnataka was ruled over by petty

kings in different parts. Among the ruling families, the Kadambas in course of time became prominent. Their sway continued till the rise of Chalukya power. Among the other ruling families of note in this area that had established themselves before the Chalukyas of Badami were, the Alupas, Bhōjas, Mauryas, Banas^{and} Gangas, Minor Rasttrakutas, Nala^{and} Kalatsuri. Thus there was no strong political central power which would exercise authority in the entire area. Under such circumstances the credit of having achieved political unity by establishing an empire over an extensive area of Karnataka, for the first time, goes to the Chalukya kings.

The early members of the Chalukya family appear to have served in a subordinate position under the Kadamba kings before they gained their independent status. It may be a fact that Pulakesi I overthrew the Kadambas and founded the Chalukya Kingdom. The fact that most of the territories formerly under the sway of the Kadambas were subsequently included in the newly founded kingdom of the Chalukyas is enough to ^{conclude} assert that the Chalukyas were the direct successors of the Kadambas.

It is known from ^{the} Aihole inscription¹⁹ that the earliest known ancestor of the Chalukya family was Jayasinha (about A.D. 500-520) who was followed by Manaraga (A.D. 520-40). The latter's son and successor Pulakesi I was the real founder of the Chalukya dynasty.

Pulakesi I (540-559) succeeded Ranaraga in A.D. 540. He also extended his territories by his conquests over the Kadambas and other rulers. After expanding the Kingdom, he made Badami as the Capital²⁰. He also built a strong fort for the defence of the town in A.D. 543. He performed the celebrated Asvamedha and other sacrifices, including that of the Hiranyagarbhādāna which indicate his status as a sovereign ruler. He assumed the title of 'Sri Prithvi Vallabha' ('Lord of the Goddess of Fortune and Earth') which was subsequently shortened into Vallabha, or Vahabheswara.

Pulakesi I had two sons - Pūgavarma and Kirtivarma (later Kirtivarma I). From the Mudhol plates²¹, it is evident that Pulakesi's eldest son was Pūgavarma. He is stated to have won 108 battles and assisted his father in his campaigns. He must have been the right hand assistant to his father. He must have defeated a group of kings and thus justified his valour. By proving his prowess, he styled himself as 'Ranasthatura' (firm in Battle), and 'Pururanaparākramah' (Puissant as Puru in hundred battles). That he won 108 battles may be purely conventional in description. The title held by him cannot be taken to be the same title of Kirtivarma I as some writers have suggested namely the title 'pururanaparākramah' (Puissant in war as Puru) one referring to Kirtivarma I. It seems, Pūgavarma having predeceased his father, Kirtivarma ascended the throne.

Kirtivarma I (A.D. 559-566) consolidated and strengthened the Chālukya Kingdom founded by his father. He also extended it by his extensive conquests including those over the Kādambas. Thus he was able to rule over a much bigger kingdom than his father. His four sons played prominent roles in the political sphere and enhanced the prestige and power of the Chālukyas.

66 Kirtivarma was succeeded by his brother, Maṅgaḷeśa (A.D. 566-596). He won several battles and established sway over Revatidvīpa. He was proficient in statecraft and diplomacy. He had the title 'Ururapavikrānta, and styled himself 'Paramabhāgavata'²². In his last days, he made an attempt to place his son on the throne and deprive Pulakēśi^{II} of his legitimate claim to the throne. In the struggle that followed between Maṅgaḷeśa and Pulakēśi^{II}, the former lost his life in about A.D. 610.

Pulakēśi II (A.D. 610-642), son and successor of Kirtivarma I, succeeded Maṅgaḷeśa, in A.D. 610. His achievements have earned for him an outstanding place among the monarchs of the dynasty. He is commonly known by the titles of 'Satyaśraya (asylum of truth) and 'Paramēśvara' (the Supreme Lord) which later on came to be used by his successors.

The military achievements of Pulakēśi^{II} have been immortalised in the Aihole Prasasti. Taking advantage of internal disturbance on the eve of his accession,

Appayika and Govinda, working in the service of the
 Chalukyas, invaded the Kingdom from the north. They
 were driven out. He is credited to have conquered
 Banavasi the capital of the Kadambas. He humbled the
 pride of the Gangas and the Alupas. He destroyed the
 power of the Mauryas. He punished rulers of Lata, Malwa
 and Gujarat. He made the island of Reva his second
 capital. He acquired supremacy over the three
 Maharastrakas. He made the rulers of Kosala and Kalinga,
 his subordinates. He took the strong fort of Pishtapura.
 He led a campaign against the Kunala Lake and then
 defeated the Pallava ruler, Mahendravarmā I and forced
 him to take shelter in the fort of Kanchi. The Aihole
 inscription says that he caused the splendour of the
 lord of the Pallavas who had opposed the rise of his
 power to be obscured by the dust of his army and to
 vanish behind the walls of Kanchipura. He conquered
 Vengimandala and placed his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana
 on the throne of the Eastern dominions. He set sail to
 Puri with a fleet of 100 ships and defeated the Malavas
 and Gurjaras and brought them under subjection. He
 defeated Sri Harsa in the north. He appointed his sons
 to rule the provinces. Jayasimha, Chandraditya, ^{and} Aditya
 ruled the territories of Nasik, Savantavadi and Kurnool
 respectively. Vijayaraja ruled Gujarat.

Pulakesi's name and fame had spread even beyond the frontiers of India. That he exchanged embassy with the persian ruler, Khusrū II is evident from the writings of Tabari and the fresco painting at Ajanta. Between the years A.D. 629 and 645, Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim visited the Chālukya country. He has left a vivid account of the country and its people.

The last days of Pulakesi were unhappy. The Pallavas invaded the Capital. It is clear that Narasimhavarma led the Pallava forces. Therefore it is doubtful whether Mahēndravarma was living still and ruling the Pallava dominions. Narasimha Varma defeated the Chālukya forces, destroyed and burnt the capital built by the Chālukyas by their hand work. For a short period the Pallavas might have occupied some part of the Chālukya Dominions. It is also true that the Ganga ruler ^{ur}Durvinīta could not possibly ^{en}have been a contemporary of Pulakesi II and much less his father-in-law. So the Pallavas did not encounter the Ganga King, Durvinīta, in the battle of Pullalore²⁵.

Pulakesi in all probability, died in A.D. 642.

Pulakesi II had four sons. Jayasimha, Adityavarma, Chandraditya, Vikramaditya and a daughter by name Ambera. Under normal circumstances Adityavarma was entitled to succeed to the throne as he was the eldest. But the closing years of Pulakesi's reign saw a period of stress

and strain through which the Chālukya dominions passed. Internal conditions were far from satisfactory. In view of the external threat in the form of Pallava invasion, Pulakesi II during his lifetime must have entrusted the Capital City and its neighbourhood, to the care of his youngest son, Vikramāditya^I, even as early as A.D. 631. The Kuram and Udiyēndiran plates bear testimony to the fact that Vikramāditya^I led a campaign towards the East, against the Vishnukundins. He was already associated with his father in the administration of the Kingdom as the other brothers were ruling the distant provinces. Whether the brothers of Vikramāditya were living at the time of the former's accession and whether Pulakesi II had another son by name Nedamari, have been matters of uncertainty, and ~~which~~ may not find a place for discussion here.

In the newly discovered inscription from Welkunda mention²⁴ is made of one Abhinavāditya. The name of this prince is to be introduced for the first time in Chālukya epigraphical records. Abhinavāditya must have been the son of Adityavarma. He ruled a small tract of land in the Kurnool area. He also assumed the title of King and styled himself as 'Satyasraya Prithvivallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśwara'.

The period from A.D. 642 to 655 was a period of set-back in the history of the Chalukyas. However, the Kingdom was not completely wiped out, although it was threatened by the Pallavas who were aided by the 'Trairājya' powers — the Pandyas, the Cholas and the Cheras. From what followed after warfare between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas, it may be concluded that the latter could not annex and occupy the Capital City of Badami and all the provinces of the Chalukya dominions. This reaction against the Pallavas was entirely due to the effective resistance offered by the Chalukya forces under Vikramaditya. Vikramaditya must have also received the whole-hearted support and co-operation in his attempt to free the ancestral dominions from the enemies and establish peace and security within his dominions. Among such loyal feudatories, it is hardly possible, as some writers think, to include the Ganga King Durvinata on account of chronological factors. Therefore Durvinata could not have been the grandfather of Vikramaditya and much less ^{could he have} helped him to succeed to the throne. Vikramaditya was primarily engaged in getting large support from the other confederate kings, his brothers and military generals in localising the Pallava antagonism and finally succeeded in making the Pallava cause a failure. He did bravely face the adversities with a single-minded devotion, perseverance, bravery, good leadership and restore Chalukya hegemony over ~~the~~ Karnataka once again.

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at feudatories

Vikramaditya I (A.D. 655-680/81) had a very hard time and overcame adversities by his prowess and brilliance. He drove back the Pallavas and ~~assured~~ the ^{gu} Chalukya Kingdom, the much needed peace and stability. He also defeated other powers like the Pandyas, the Cholas, Kerala and Kalabhras with the help of his horse Chitrakantha. In A.D. 674, he led an invasion to Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas. He had the good fortune of obtaining the able assistance of his son, Vinayaditya who subjugated several other rulers. Vinayaditya maintained peace at home and protected the capital in the absence of his father. His inscriptions refer to the overthrow by Vikramaditya, of the Confederacy of three kings which was led by the Pallava King.

Vikramaditya's reign was a fairly long and successful one. Within a short period, he tided over the crisis and reestablished Chalukya supremacy. He restored all the endowments which had been kept in abeyance due to the troubles created by the Pallavas.

Vinayaditya (A.D. 678-81; 682-96) Vinayaditya held the office of the yuvaraja (Crown-prince) till A.D. 681, and ascended the throne in A.D. 681. His reign was one of comparative peace. As the Pallavas had been subdued, there was no disturbance from their side. His inscriptions refer to his victories over the rulers of

Kaverā, Parāsika and Sindhala. Inscriptions of his son describe his victory over some north Indian King. The inscriptions also state that Vijayāditya, ^{his} the son, acquired the insignia of Ganga and Yamuna and defeated Yasovarman of Kanuj^a. This ^e ruler of the north may have been Vajrata who figures in the Rastrakuta records. But in the absence of definite evidences, no clear conclusion can be drawn on this issue. However, in the campaign to the north, Vijayāditya, probably, was taken captive. Vinayāditya died soon after his son's imprisonment. According to the epigraphical evidence, Vijayāditya escaped from prison and put down the unruly elements in the kingdom. This event shows that his father was not living and disturbances had set in, which he was able to put down.

Vinayāditya had the title of 'Yuddhamalla'. In the celebrated work, Gadayuddha, the poet Ranna refers to him as 'Yadhamalla' which expresses his great valour in war. He had a queen by name Vinavati^{ya}, who was responsible for installation of Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara^{deities} at Badami. His daughter Kuakumamahadevi was married to the Alupa Chief Chitravahana who maintained very cordial relations with the Chalukyas of Badami.

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his ^{son} one Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733). He had participated in the north Indian

campaigns of his father. He led the campaigns in the South which had been started by his grandfather. He made another war against the Pallavas in which his son Yuvaraja Vikramaditya^{II} commanded the army. In this war ^{peace} Parameswarana II was defeated. He agreed to pay tribute. Vijayaditya's reign was one of peace. He paid a visit to Banavasi where he met his brother-in-law, Chitravahana. Vijayaditya's sister Kunkumamahadevi caused a Jain^a temple to be built at Lakshmeshwar.

Vinayaditya's son and successor Vikramaditya II ruled from A.D. 733-745. He defeated the Pallava king, Nandipotavarman in Tondaimandalam. He entered the Pallava Capital, Kanchi and gave large and generous donations to the temple of Rajasimheswara which fact is testified by an inscription in the temple. He conquered the Pallavas, three times. In memory of these victories, his queens caused the construction of temples at Pattadakal. His reign is marked by peace and prosperity except for ^{short periods} one occasion when he fought and defeated the South Indian kings - the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas — and erected a Pillar of Victory on the sea coast of Southern India.

^{peaceful}
Vikramaditya II had a fairly eventful reign. He has earned for himself a permanent place in the history of the Chalukyas. He was faced with an invasion from the Arabs.

Valma?

See above?

See above

His magnanimity is evidenced by his rich donations to the Rajasimheswara temple at Kāñchi, as mentioned above.

The last ruler was Kirtivarma II, son of Vikramaditya II and Trailokyamahadevi. He ruled from A.D. 745 to 757. Even as a prince he had secured his father's permission to reduce the Pallavas. He continued hostility with the Pallavas after assumption of authority. He marched upon Kāñchi and put to flight Nandipotavarman II.

The closing years of Kirtivarma's reign saw the break-down up of the empire. The feudatories were growing strong and waiting for an opportunity to become independent. From the Samangad plates we learn that Kirtivarma held the title of Maharajadhiraja and spoken of as Subduer of the Pallavas. So, he must have at least ruled with firmness for 12 years from A.D. 745, after which the Chalukya rule ended.

(iv) A FORMATIVE PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF KARNATAKA:

In many respects the Chalukya period may be regarded as a formative period in the annals of Karnatak^a. For a satisfactory reconstruction of the history of the Chalukyas, there are no other materials other than Copper plates and inscriptions ^{which form} as the primary sources of information. These materials ^{are} ~~were~~ all of the nature of engravings on stone or metal. The history of evolution of Kannada epigraphy indicates that engraving on such

materials for the sake of recording events began in about the 4th century A.D. The art of engraving developed through centuries and attained its stage of perfection by about the 10th century A.D. Therefore many of the traditions, practices and names of official functionaries with details of their functions and duties which would normally have been recorded are not forthcoming to a point of satisfaction. Old Kannada script was being developed and in its adaptations from ^acare alphabet may be observed.

9
not clear

These epigraphs, however, do not contain much direct information about the Governmental and administrative institution. Absence of an elaborate and systematic account in the available material need not lead one to conclude that the Chalukya kingdom had no organisation of government. An empire, first of its kind and of great magnitude exerting its energies to weld the Mauryas, Satavahanas and several other minor kingdoms into one political framework and also remaining supreme for nearly 250 years could not have functioned without a satisfactory organisation of government and administration. Moreover, the political conditions of the times in South India must have demanded such an administrative set up as to enable the Chalukya king to take decisions quickly, particularly on matters of defence and foreign affairs affecting the very existence of the empire. Again, the establishment

of the Rāstrakūṭa empire after the disappearance of the Chālukyas and the existence of the Kingdom of the Kādambas of Banavasi before, indicate that although Karnataka witnessed changes in the ruling dynasties, there was a basic and common administrative structure. That is the reason why the Rāstrakūṭas could inherit a kingdom, almost intact, with a running governmental and administrative machinery and thereafter, introduce certain variations in the vital structure. Therefore, it may be affirmed that in the period of the Chālukyas of Bādami, there was a governmental organisation and administrative set up to suit the exigencies and existence of the large dominions. The Chālukyas were in possession of a priceless legacy after their success over the Kādambas which they maintained and improved upon.

In conclusion, the Chālukyas were the first to establish an extensive empire comprising vast stretch of territories. They may be credited as being the first builders of an empire of magnitude in southern India²⁵. Hence, it is true to say that the Chālukya dominions represented the features of a well organised state. The Chālukya kings bequeathed a 'body and form' the administrative organisation of which could be perfected by the Rāstrakūṭas who became a paramount power over a still large dominion. The Bādami Chālukyas may therefore,

rightly be regarded as pioneers in the field of organising their government and administration. One may discern in the midst of their panoramic history the creation and development of an administrative organisation amply bearing testimony to the application of traditions and theories of state and polity of ancient India, embodied in the works of Manu and Kautilya.

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4. Ibid; 28; E.C. vi. Kd. 162
5. I.A. vi; 74
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8. Palamanchi Plates of Vikramāditya I, A.I. ix; 98.
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9. The Mahākuta Pillar Inscription, I.A. xix; 7.
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Pt. 11, no. xl; 43. E.H.D. Pt. 1-1v; 204.
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of the Chuluka (Chaluka or Chuluka) indicating 'water -
Pot' or hand hallowed to hold water of the sage
Hāriti, when he was pouring out a libation to the
gods.
11. Vikramānka dēva carita, xix. I.A. v; 317.
According to the Kauthen plates (I.A. xvi; 21) the
creator throwing his glance into his Chuluka filled
with the sacred waters of the Ganges, at once created
the warrior by name Chulukya.
12. I.A. vi; 72-74. I.A. xii; 110. I.A. viii; 48-49.
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17. E.I. xxvii; 4. I.A. ix, 99.
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CHAPTER II

KING AND GOVERNMENT

Section I. King

The Chalukyas of Badami ruled over a kingdom comprising extensive regions of Karnataka. It was Pulakesi I who established an independent dynasty and laid the real foundation of the kingdom. He styled himself Maharaja¹, a title which his successors took. A few years later, as the extent of the kingdom became larger, the successors of Pulakesi assumed the title of Maharajadhiraja². For instance, Pulakesi II and his successors styled themselves Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara, in addition to other high-sounding titles. Of these, the title 'Paramesvara' is said to have been assumed by him after his victory over Harsha. In this connection, it may be pointed out that Pulakesi^{II} had assumed the title even earlier. However, Pulakesi^{II} bore this title which his successors must have associated with the major event in the former's reign, namely, the defeat of Harsha.

MONARCHY: The form of government organised over the dominions of the Chalukyas was essentially monarchical in character. This form of government was in agreement with the political system which prevailed in Ancient India.

Ch-4 &
Harsha
Paramesvara
in ch II

NATURE OF KINGSHIP: Epigraphical records of the Chalukya kings invariably refer to their performance of the Vedic sacrifices³. Pulakēśi I has been described to have performed the Asvamedha (horse) sacrifice in addition to other ones. The Mahakuta Pillar inscription of Mangalēśa describes that his father, Pulakēśi I performed the Asvamedha, Hiranyagarbha, Agnisthoma, Agnichayana, Vajapeya, Bahusuvāna and Paundarika sacrifices⁴, as prescribed in the Vedic literature. It is an accepted fact that the Horse sacrifice is credited to have been performed by Pulakēśi I. However, one later record mentions that even Pulakēśi II performed the same sacrifice⁵. Probably, the reference in later records was associated with even Pulakēśi II as a mark of distinction. But actually there is no reference to Pulakēśi II (as having) performed the horse sacrifice in the records of his period. Anyway, it is a well known fact that these sacrifices were in practice even from the Vedic times. Performance of the Vedic sacrifices like Asvamedha, Rajasuya indicated imperial authority. They also had a constitutional significance. Among the several sacrifices which were in practice in ancient India, the Asvamedha sacrifice was considered as 'the King of Sacrifices'⁶ because its celebration was symbolic of the status of a ruler of undisputed supremacy.

Another feature common to the rule of Chālukya Kings was their inevitable wars with the Pallavas. Military campaigns were undertaken by the kings either for conquest and expansion or for defence against aggressive enemies. In spite of the ceaseless wars which engaged the attention of kings, the Chālukyas organised a system of administration and gave to their dominions peace, prosperity and security. All the rulers in the dynasty bestowed their attention to proper discharge of their functions towards the people. Pulakēśi I founded a small but independent kingdom with Bādāmi as capital which witnessed unprecedented expansion and consolidation in the period of his successors. Pulakēśi I also constructed a strong protective wall around the capital city for defence of the newly-founded kingdom⁷, to withstand onslaught of the enemies. Kīrtivarma I beautified the city with temples and other buildings. His younger brother Mangaleśa completed construction of a cave temple near Bādāmi and gave the village of Lañjīśvara⁸ as the donation for the upkeep of the temple. Despite stress and strain of warfare, Pulakēśi II paid the much-needed attention to maintenance of peace and tranquility within the dominions. There are evidences to show that the people were in a prosperous condition. Inscriptions of the Chālukyas and foreign writings of the period do not refer to any incidents as having disturbed the normal life

of the people. Pulakesi II gave patronage to poets and learned men. Ravikirti, the celebrated poet of the age adorned Pulakesi's court. His influence on the King was very immeasurable. Vikramaditya I also continued his father's policy of giving encouragement to scholars. Nagavardhana was his religious teacher. Similarly, Sri Meghacharya is described in the inscriptions as his 'Svakiyaguru'. The reign of Vijayaditya is well known for construction of temples at Pattadakal¹⁰. In the same way the period of Vikramaditya II is remembered for temple-building. The temples were endowed with large donations. Kirtivarma II issued a charter to the people of Lakshmesvar by means of which, he conferred certain privileges to them¹¹. The many sided activities of the Chalukya kings have been described in their records in a cursory manner. However, the dominions had an administrative organisation the basis of which incorporated the ideals enunciated by the law-givers and practised by ancient Indian kings who preceded them.

The King was the pivot of administration. He exercised all authority of government. He represented the living-force behind all that happened in the kingdom. He was associated with the manifold aspects of government and administration of the empire and all powers that were along with government and administration. Hence his authority was all-pervasive in his dominions. The King's

ascendancy in matters of state was an accepted cannon. But he could not also be an autocrat. He had to respect several customs, traditions and laws. His authority was controlled and guided by several restraints.

*rāshṭra or
raṣṭra* Another term, very commonly used to mean a kingdom was 'raṣṭra'. Ancient writers on polity also attribute the Seven prakritis as having constituted the kingdom¹². The term prakriti [a detailed discussion of this term is made elsewhere in this chapter] is found very frequently used in the inscriptions of this period. If the seven prakritis constituted the basic elements of the state in ancient India, they must have functioned as very powerful components of the body-politic. King was the most prominent element constituting the seven prakritis. So the King was himself the Government. He was responsible for the upkeep of social order. As society existed for the welfare of the individual, his authority functioned ultimately for the welfare of society.

IDEALS BEFORE A KING:

The ideals set before a king were of a very high order. Even as a prince, the king was to receive a training in state-craft. These ideals were generally followed by all the kings. There might have been lapses on the part of some rulers. He was to set a model for his

people. A good king is short, worked for the practical welfare of his people¹³. His duties were attuned to achieve the activities in relation to dharma, artha and Rāma. The king fulfils the aim of dharma by his justice and protection. He fulfils the aim of 'artha' by promoting the material welfare of his subjects¹⁴. In the time left from his many duties, he is perfectly entitled to enjoy life in whatever way is legitimately possible. Thus the king could be regarded as, 'the father of his people'¹⁵. He may also be called the husband of the land, giving him the title to seek 'devoted, self effacing obedience and service from his subjects'. Hence, the ideal before the king was in accordance with the Kautilyan principle. The king was expected to do 'not merely that which pleases himself, (that) but which will please the people'¹⁶. So the principles of polity described in the Dharmasastra of Manu and Arthasastra of Kautilya and the time honoured traditions and practices of the period constituted the character and personality of the king.

It was not enough if the king paid proper attention to the Capital City and outlying regions. He was also expected to get an assurance for himself of the allegiance of rulers of all component parts. His authority extended over the territorial units as well. Details of territorial units and their organisation are reviewed in

chiefs ?

Chapter II. Further, the ~~King~~ associated freely with subordinate rulers and hereditary officers of approved ability. By such a policy he could keep an overall control over the several constituent parts of the kingdom. The Chalukya kingdom did consist of a number of administrative units and independent states which were under the rule of governors appointed by the King¹⁷, or feudatories, respectively.

Section II

FUNCTIONS OF THE KING:

Besides looking after the entire overall authority and controlling all-absorbing central authority and organising the provincial administration, the king had many other functions to do. Literature of ancient India sets forth a long list of functions. The Santiparva provides several details in regard to king's functions¹⁸, defence of his kingdom, military operations, government of the country, administration of justice, levying of revenues etc. Manu's Dharmasastra and Kautilya's Arthasastra give an elaborate description of the king's functions. The king was expected to look to conservation of traditions. He was to protect the religious and social organisation. He was to restrain the evil elements and forces in society. His primary duty was to look to development of social and moral life of the people and protection of the people for which he was to

possess ability. The Santiparva states that "a king destitute of ability and dexterity (^aAdakshah) cannot protect his subjects." Similarly, the king could protect the people with a proper wielding of the 'danda' or 'the power of punishment' to keep evil-doers under control. He was to bring about an allround development of the people. He gave grants and gifts of land and villages on important occasions and events. He also gave patronage to literature, art and architecture.

USE OF 'DANDA':

King's exercise of 'danda' has been emphasized by all writers as a very fundamental function. He exercised 'danda' to "restrain the natural turbulence and depravity of man, to violate the regulations of different castes and orders of life so that certain matters of conduct of public behaviour having a vital bearing on the progress of society may be obtained"⁹. According to Manu, 'it is danda that rules the subject; it is only danda that protects all people; danda is aware when others sleep; hence, according to the learned, danda is dharma itself.'²⁰ The law-givers add further that danda helps the government to fulfil the motto, 'dushtanigraha' and 'shishtaparipalana', (protection of the good and punishing evil-doers). As a matter of fact, its application in practice was the standard to measure whether the government was good, just,

and benevolent. We may here draw a reference to one of the verses in the Vishnu Sahasranāma Stōtram which purports to the maxim that Lord Vishnu would take care of those devotees who surrender^{ed} unto him and that he would protect the good and punish the wicked. ~~It was~~

'Yōgakshēmaṁ vahāmyaham'

'Paritrāṇaya saḥunaṁ vināśayacha
duṣkṛitāṁ...."

It was a common belief even among the kings of old to divert their activities in conformity with the above maxim and help the cause, divine ! At least some of the kings kept in line with this belief in their administration. Quite a good number of the Chalukya inscriptions ~~of~~ proclaim this ideal as having been implemented²¹.

several of them ?

For instance, one of the records reads as 'duṣṭanigraha sishta pari pālanadīṁ sukha-saṅkatha vīṇadādīṁ rājyaṁ geyttulire'. These are the expressions which occur in this context. The effective manner in which administration of the kingdom was carried on by the Chalukya monarchs indicated⁹ that they were conspicuously aware of their responsibility as rulers in maintaining and wielding the 'danda'.

Being the supreme authority of the State, the king exercised executive and judicial functions. He enforced laws which did not contravene customs, traditions and

opinions of scholars on law. He supervised entire administrative organisation. The revenue and military departments received special attention by the king.

The king represented the foremost element constituting the 'Saptāṅga' (the seven elements) of the Kingdom²². He exercised several powers (and ^{at least 5 or 6} did many functions). He appointed ministers and the other officers of the government and supervised the work of public servants. He directed the ^{material} progress and economic activities of the kingdom. He was responsible for promotion of agriculture, trade and attainment of public weal. He provided facilities like irrigation, famine-relief, clearance of forests and remission of taxes in times of draught. He made donations to temples and supervised construction and renovation of temples. On certain important occasions like the birth-day of the king or his victory over his enemies, the king released prisoners whose conduct was found to be good. He also conferred titles and other benefits to competent and eminently deserving persons. Although, the Chalukya inscriptions do not give definite details relating to the above functions, they do not lack references on the king's functions in general terms.

Another function common in those times was that the king took a lead in military expeditions. For instance,

the Chalukya kings since Pulakesi I never had respite from war, except for short intervals. They had to be particularly aware of enemies on the frontiers of the kingdom. They also followed a careful diplomatic policy in view of frequent external aggressions.

cautious?

A few kings evinced a keen personal interest in the administration of the kingdom. Naturally, this attitude only raised the efficiency of the rulers. Their attitude was similar to the ideal of Asoka^Mmaurya, who acted as 'father of the people'. They were both feared and loved by their subjects. It was considered to be the responsibility of the kings to undertake the duty of protecting their subjects as the latter were 'law-abiding'. The kings even made themselves easily accessible to the subjects so that they could know their grievances and settle them without much delay.

personally come to know of

ADHERENCE TO 'DHARMA':

The king's policy and decisions on administrative matters centred round the concept of 'dharma' and conformed to its injunctions. In fact, it was the touch-stone as it were of all actions. It will be apt here to refer to some of the observations of a few scholars on the concept of 'dharma'. According to Dr. Radhakrishnan, "Virtue (dharma), wealth (artha), enjoyment (kama) and liberation

(moksha) are the four great aims to be attained by all human endeavour and the pursuit of each of these was aided by a normative science (sastra) devoted to an exposition of its nature and the means to its attainment"²³. Among the sciences that guided the policies of kings, the most prominent were the Dharmasastra of Manu on sacred law and the Arthasastra of Kautilya on the manual of polity. The term dharma also has an all-engrossing meaning (which is given by) Prof. Kielhorn, who says, "I find no english word by which I can express all the meanings of the Sanskrit, Dharma"²⁴. In the same way, Prof. Iyengar observes, "Dharma connotes law proper, virtue, religion, piety, justice, innate property or quality"²⁵. Again, according to Dr. A. L. Basham, "the terms dharma, artha and kama would mean piety, profit and pleasure"²⁶. It was dharma as described above the adherence to which was generally the practice of the Chalukya kings.

Section III - 'SAPTANGA' OR THE SEVEN ELEMENTS OF THE STATE:

Political organisation in ancient and early medieval periods was distinctly based on the theory of the Saptanga or the seven elements of the State. They were svami (sovereign), amatya (ministers, councillors, heads of departments), janapada (rajya, territory or people), durga (forts), kosa (treasury), danda (bala, arms), and mitra (allies)²⁷. Although it has been doubted by some scholars

that the seven elements may not resemble the elements constituting a modern state, we cannot help remarking that these elements were the fundamentals of the body-politic in ancient times. These elements did form "the epitome of theory of Hindu polity"²⁸. The Chalukya kingdom had a political organisation which conformed to the general pattern prevailing in the period.

Sahay. QUALIFICATIONS OF A KING:

As the king was expected to do several functions, described already, and 'carry the ship of state' smoothly, he was to have certain qualifications, befitting his high position. Such qualifications have been enumerated in sections on 'rājadharmā' in Manusmṛiti, Mahābhārata and similar other treatises. A few of the qualifications may be mentioned here. A good king was expected to be the abode of learning, lustre, prudence, sportiveness, profundity, high-mindedness, valour, fame, a friend of all living beings, spurning riches of others, making gifts to priests, chiefs and the learned and honouring them and keeping their company. In addition to these, the king was to be well-versed in 'Shadgunya'³⁰, 'chaturvēda'³¹ and 'Saptaprakritis'³².

After reviewing the achievements of the Chalukya kings as found in their inscriptions, we find that they possessed many of the qualifications mentioned above.

They were the greatest warriors. They were the best statesmen. They were also learned. They proved to be very good as rulers. We give below some of the instances bearing on the above.

That Pulakesi I possessed several qualifications is borne out by the British Museum Plates. He was "conversant with the code of laws of Manu and the Purāṇas and the epics of the Rāmāyana and the Bhārata, equal to Brihaspati (preceptor of the Gods) in Philosophy. He is described as 'Vriddopadesāgrāhi'. Referring to Pulakesi's performance of sacrifices, the same record says, that he had become the favourite of the World on account of his meritorious qualities (such was Vallabha)³³. Further, the Nerur grant also bears ample proof of the qualifications possessed by Pulakesi I³⁴.

About Kirtivarma I the Godachi copper plate³⁵ dated in the 12th year of his reign says that he was well-versed in all the sciences, keen in intellect and had an eye towards dispensation of justice.

Mangalesa is said to have "adorned to justice in his own country.... acquired wealth of other kings by strength and prowess of his own arm; who had gait and sight and voice of bull who had the actions of a choice elephant infuriated with passion who had the valour of a lion; who was endowed with the wealth of statesmanship and modesty

and charity and tendencies and sincerity and truth; who was possessed of the three constituents of power and who was an excellent worshipper of (the God) Bhagwan (Vishnu)³⁶. He was also an adept in construction of forts and warfare. The Mahakuta pillar inscription adds further that he was endowed with polity, refinement, knowledge, liberality, etc. In line 7 of the same record he is described as well skilled in counsel, in (the selection of) spies and messengers, in (arranging) peace and war³⁷. According to the Badami inscription, Mangalasa is said to have trained his mind in all the sastras³⁸.

In regard to the qualifications possessed by Pulakesi II the Aihole inscription describes the brave qualities required of a great military general. Verse 26 of the inscription states that Pulakesi was "almost equal to Indra because like that deity he possessed certain saktis; but he was inferior to him because his sakti were three -- namely, powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy., while Indra possesses eight saktis". In verse 32 of the record, Satyasraya (Pulakesi II) is described as one "endowed with the powers of energy, mastery and good counsel, (he) having conquered all the quarter, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to Gods and Brahmins, having entered the city of Vatapi - is ruling like one City, this earth which has the

dark-blue waters of the surging sea for its meat"³⁹.

However, the latter description is purely a conventional phraseology. Pulakesi II also possessed the three powers which were so essential for a successful ruler.

They were prabhusakti (power due to possession of army and pleasure), mantrasakti (power due to good counselling), and utshasakti (power due to personal valour). He is described in the inscription as 'prabhumantrotsaha saktitraya sampannah'⁴⁰. He is also said to have had the virtue of 'suhrudavanah deenandha kripana samapabhujya manavibhavanah'. These three powers which ancient Indian writers on polity have deemed as the most necessary qualifications were possessed even by the other kings of the Chalukya dynasty.

Other kings of the dynasty were also adequately endowed with many virtues. For instance, Vikramaditya I, Vinayaditya and Vijayaditya have been described as having attained mastery in Asvavidya or the science of horsemanship. They possessed excellent soldierly traits, proficient in the use of horses, in the battlefield, and sure of winning the battles. The ^aVokkleri plates of Kirtivarma II describes that his father Vikramaditya I was "perfect in wisdom and reverence"⁴¹. It should also to be said to the credit of Vikramaditya I that he imparted and equipped his son and grandson with great many virtues by actively associating them in administration. Similarly,

Vijayāditya is said to have attained mastery of the various ¹sastras (sciences) quite early in life.

Even Vikramāditya II and Kīrtivarma II were in no way inferior to their predecessors in their attainments⁴² and proved worthy of the valuable traditions of the dynasty.

Section.
V

SUCCESSION TO THRONE:

Succession to the throne in the Chālukya dynasty was usually by the principle of hereditary right⁴³. Normally, the eldest son of the ruling king would be nominated to succeed to the throne. The reason for this practice was that the successor to the throne was not only the person of the king's choice but also he would have associated with the king in administration and foreign affairs for a good part of his early life.

Pulakesi I had two sons Kīrtivarma and Maṅgalēsa of whom the former, being elder, ascended the throne after Pulakesi's demise. Likewise, Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II adhered to the Law of Primogeniture in nominating their successors.

The practice of selecting the heir-apparent or the nominee to succeed a ruling king after his death may be inferred from the Chālukya inscriptions. One of the inscriptions^{43(a)} of Pulakesi I states that he made over

the right of ruling the kingdom to Kirtivarma I in the presence of several merchants and dignitaries. The inscription also refers to the abilities of Kirtivarma I to rule the kingdom. He was sufficiently powerful to protect the whole circle of earth[?] and he was endowed with many victories acquired in battles. Similar references in the case of a few other kings of the

dynasty — > Chalukyas indicate that the most essential factor governing succession to the throne was general and unanimous consent or acceptance of the ruler by all the people of the kingdom, besides his capabilities. In fact, it was this objective which must have made Pulakesi I to select Kirtivarma as his successor in A.D. 509

When we review the history of the Chalukyas of Badami we find that on two occasions, succession to the throne was determined in the manner most suited to certain special circumstances prevailing in the period and no violation of the above tradition was made. These instances were those of succession to throne by Mangalasa in A.D. 597 and of Vikramaditya I in A.D. 655.

The circumstances leading to accession of Mangalasa were the following. Kirtivarma I died in A.D. 597-98. In the interest of security and defence of the kingdom, Kirtivarma's younger brother Mangalasa succeeded to the throne. Mangalasa was devoted, loyal and affectionate

towards his brother. With great respect to Kirtivarma, Maṅgaḷeśa saw to the construction of the Vaishnava cave on the hill at Bādāmi and dedicated the temple to Kirtivarma⁴⁴. In other respects also, Maṅgaḷeśa's rule proved beneficial. He brought about an expansion of the dominions as far as Goa. But at the end of his reign there was a civil war between him and his nephew. Pulakesi son of Kirtivarma I. According to the Aihole inscription the cause of the quarrel was Maṅgaḷeśa's attempt to place his own son on the throne. Unfortunately the inscription does not mention the name of Maṅgaḷeśa's son. But he has been identified by some with Satyaśaraya - Dhruvaśaraja - Indravarma. However, this identification is not tenable. The other details connected with the family-fend between Maṅgaḷeśa and Pulakesi form part of the political history, an outline of which is described already. What is important from the point of view of succession is that Maṅgaḷeśa tried to outstrip the traditional practice of the age. With all his ability as a ruler and devotion to his elder brother when he was living, Maṅgaḷeśa contemplated a selfish idea of setting aside Pulakesi's claim to the throne. He attempted to violate the traditional practice of primogeniture purely on account of his personal ambition. On this issue, works on polity of ancient times repeat very often that the basic principle of succession is to hold the kingdom as a 'trust'⁴⁵ till the

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lawful claimant comes of age. Kirtivarma had permitted Mangaleśa to succeed him and hold the kingdom as a 'trust' until Pulakesi attained proper age. Kirtivarma's supreme confidence in Mangaleśa that the latter would keep the dominions intact and give it back to his minor son on attaining age was the main cause of his nomination in favour of Mangaleśa. But as events that followed show, ~~that~~ Mangaleśa did not mean to keep up his promise. So Pulakesi was compelled to recover the throne by means of resistance. Pulakesi must have received a very large support by the people and some subordinate kings in fulfilling his just claim. In the civil war that followed Mangaleśa is said to have lost his life and Pulakesi got back his ancestral kingdom. Thus Pulakesi was able to put an end to the short period of disorder and confusion so that the kingdom did not fall a prey to the recalcitrant elements in the country.

The other occasion when succession had to be settled on grounds of competency of the ruler to suit the needs of the times and special circumstances came about in the last years of Pulakesi's rule. In about A.D. 642 Pulakesi was defeated by the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I son and successor of Mahendravarman I. This defeat of the Chalukyas must have subsequently been responsible for the premature death of Pulakesi II. His death left a gap

of thirteen years during which the question of succession was not settled. Inscriptions of the Chālukya dynasty bearing dates after A.D. 642, mention that Pulakēśi was succeeded by one of his younger sons. This younger son has been styled in the inscription as the 'Priyatanaya'⁴⁷ (dear son). This dear son or a 'favourite of his father' was no other person than Vikramāditya himself.

What exactly was the position of the Chālukya kingdom during the thirteen years i.e. from A.D. 642 to 655 is not described in the inscriptions. It is evident that the kingdom was in a troubled state of affairs after the death of Pulakēśi. It is also very clear that the Pallavas did not occupy the Chālukya dominions as such. On the evidence corroborated by the Nerūr and Kōchre grants⁴⁸, it is known that Chandrāditya, the eldest brother of Vikramāditya did not rule the entire Chālukya dominions. Another brother of Vikramāditya, Aditya by name, also did not rule the dominions. He must have lost his life while fighting against Harsha. Some scholars are of the opinion that there must have ensued a war of succession among the brothers of Vikramāditya for the throne. Their main argument, that none of them was proclaimed as king in A.D. 642 itself and that there was a gap of thirteen years for Vikramāditya to succeed are not adequate grounds to ~~state~~ ^{state} that there was a war of succession after A.D. 642. Inscriptions also do not

Conclude |

mention anything like a dispute for the throne among the sons of Pulakesi. The very fact that Vikramaditya proclaims to have become king in A.D. 655 instead of A.D. 642 indicates that there was no dispute for the throne. Dr.D.C.Sircar rightly observes,"it does not appear that Vikramaditya was a rival claimant from the very beginning, for in that case, he would have probably dated the commencement of his reign in A.D. 642 and not in A.D. 655⁴⁹. Dilating on the use of the term, 'dear son' in the inscriptions relating to this period, we may say that it was a term of equal reference to all the sons of Pulakesi II and not exclusively in the case of Vikramaditya alone. Hence, we may infer that either the other three brothers of Vikramaditya continued to rule for some more years after the death of Pulakesi, in their respective viceregal territories or must not be living at all by the time of Vikramaditya's accession to the throne. We cannot have any definite idea as to what happened to Adityavarma and Chandraditya during this period. Taking it for granted that one or two of the brothers lived even after the death of Pulakesi, they must have agreeably permitted Vikramaditya to assume kingship which materialised in A.D. 655. As far as Chandraditya and his queen are concerned, it may be said with certainty that there was general agreement in favour of Vikramaditya succeeding to the throne. The two grants of Chandraditya's queen,

Vijayabhaṭṭārīka speak of Vikramāditya as "the restorer of the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors"³⁰. Some scholars hold the view that Chandraditya might have enjoyed a feudatory status, though there existed cordial relationship between the two. This view is based on the ground that the name of Vikramāditya in the inscription cited appears before that of Chandraditya. But this view is not tenable because, it is highly doubtful whether Chandraditya was alive when his wife issued her two grants³¹. What is significant in the inscription is that Vikramāditya has been referred to in the most cordial terms by Queen Vijayabhaṭṭārīka. The expression reads:

"rāja ripu - narēndra (n) hatvā āśī (āśī) jītvā
 va - va (ā sa - jānam lakṣmīṁ pra (2) pya.....".

(the restorer of the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors).

Says Burgess "the king Vikramāditya, the unrepulsed, who having slain the hostile kings, and having conquered in country after country, recoupled the fortunes of those of his family, and attained the supreme lordship".

From the foregoing details, it may be noted that there was no dispute for succession to the Bādāmi throne among the sons of Pulakēśī. It is quite possible that on account of their early training and cultured breeding, the brothers of Vikramāditya must have evinced a sense of cordial cooperation among themselves and exhibited boundless respect towards their parents. In addition to this possibility, the political conditions of the period from A.D. 642 to 655 must have accelerated assumption of kingship of Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya, even before becoming the king had been entrusted by his father in.....

his last days to look after security and defence of the headquarters of the kingdom. Pulakesi was aware of Vikramaditya's talents for organisation and administration. He was quite aware of administrative responsibilities as he was associated with his father in the art of governance and planning campaigns for conquest and defence. Such a method of selecting the most competent person, though younger in rank, was resorted to by Chandragupta I of the Gupta line, in nominating Samudragupta as his successor. Pulakesi must have also been promoted by considerations of ability and competence in nominating Vikramaditya as his successor. Between A.D. 642 and 655 Vikramaditya must have busied himself in the task of freeing the dominions from enemies and invaders. He must have also engaged himself with securing the forthcoming support and assistance of the neighbouring feudatories. Finally, he succeeded in his attempts and restored the ancestral dominions to its former position of prestige and stability. Therefore, the succession to the throne by Vikramaditya in A.D. 655, although an younger son in the family, was brought about by the exceptional circumstances of the period and was not in violation of the traditional practice of hereditary kingship.

Except for the two occasions described above, succession to the throne in the Chalukya royal family was based on the principle of primogeniture. If the eldest son had no prescriptive right by birth alone, the choice

of an heir by the ruling king fell upon the king's uncle, if younger than himself or a son or his elder brother or his own son or an adopted son. Along with seniority by virtue of age, fitness to rule was also taken into consideration to decide the question of succession particularly in times of trouble and insecure condition of the kingdom and other sons happen to have no competence or non-existing.

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Section VI
CROWN PRINCE:

When succession to the throne was normally decided on the principle of hereditary privilege, such a person would be designated as the Crown Prince or the heir-apparent of the Yuvaraja⁵². Generally the eldest son by the senior queen was appointed as Yuvaraja. If the ruling king had no son or if the son was a minor and not able to carry out responsibilities of administration, the king's choice fell on his younger brother or uncle or some one belonging to a collateral branch of the royal family⁵³. For instance Mangalesa acted as regent for some short period after the death of Kirtivarma I. Ever since the appointment of a person as Yuvaraja, he would be associated with the ruler in all important matters connected with administration and foreign affairs.

As regards the competence of the Yuvaraja in view of responsibilities to be shouldered by him, he was given a good training. He was imparted education in the science of politics, use of elephants, archery, literature, medicine, poetry, grammar, drama, art of dancing and music. References to the crown Prince as having received instruction in these varied subjects may be conventional. He might have become proficient and exhibited his capabilities in at least a few of these subjects.

From the Satara grant of Vikramaditya⁵⁴ I, it is evident that Pulakesi II passed over his younger brother, assumed the title of Yuvaraja and claimed succession direct from Kirtivarma I. Pulakesi had received in his boyhood the necessary training to equip himself to become a successful ruler.

Pulakesi II is stated to have installed his brother Vishnuvardhana on the Eastern branch of the dynasty. Vishnuvardhana had already associated with Pulakesi in the government as Yuvaraja according to the usual custom before he could be installed as an independent sovereign of the Eastern branch⁵⁵.

A copper plate grant mentions that Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chalukya house, styled himself as the Yuvaraja. This fact is mentioned

while tracing the genealogy of the dynasty from Pulakesi I. The donor of the grant is Vishnuvardhana himself. That he was ruling the Satara region as Viceroy is evident from the Satara copper plate where in also he styles himself as Yuvaraja.

There are instances in the reign of Pulakesi II to show that the princes were also invested with governorships so that they could learn how to grasp the problems of state-craft and diplomacy and also to utilise their rich experience thus acquired, in the future. Chandraditya was governing the Savantavadi region and Aditya that of the Kurnool area as evident from their inscriptions. Vikramaditya was associated with his father in administration from a long time and he had been entrusted to look after the Capital city and its immediate neighbourhood.

Sriyashaya

The Surat inscription informs us that ⁸ ~~Srasaya~~ ⁸ Siladitya styled himself as Yuvaraja⁵⁶, which shows that this ancient Indian custom was adopted by the Chalukya kings.

The latter part of the history of the Chalukyas of Badami show⁸ that the crown prince not only obtained the necessary education but participated in wars along with the king and his army. The crown prince had the status of Panchamahāsabdas⁵⁷ and was invested with a necklace to symbolise his office as the insignia. Besides this,

the crown prince sometimes issued grants also with the permission of the king.

According to the Sorab grant⁵⁸, Pulakēśi II selected among his sons, Vikramāditya as Yuvaraja, though he was the youngest. This record describes the accomplishments of Vikramāditya I. He has been described as 'impetuous' and he was associated in administration due to his intellect. The relevant portion reads:

Vitra (kra) māditya - paramēśvara -
bhāttāra kanya mati - sahaya -
sahasasatra - sanadhigatani

He possessed extra-ordinary skill for battles which he won. He marched in the 'van of battle'. He put to humiliation^a the king of the Pallavas who depended very much on the support of the kings of Chola, Pandya and Kerala. "The king of the Pallavas who had bowed down before no others performed obeisance to Vikramāditya." The relevant portion of the record reads as follows:

Samupalabdha - kirtti - sa (pa) tak -
avabhasita - digantarasya himakara - kara -
vinale - kula - paribhavana - vi .

Laya - hētu - pallavapati - parājay -
 ānanitara - parigṛihita -
 kāñchipurīśya prabhāva - kulīśa śalita.....

In his earlier days Vikramāditya acquired his educational attainments from the instructions of two teachers, Nāgavar-dhana and Śrī Meghacharya.

According to the Neru ✓ Copper Plate, Vijayāditya^{58(a)} acquired in his early childhood a knowledge of all writings on the use of weapons.

The Vakkaleri plates of Kīrtivarṇa II⁵⁹ describe in detail the position of a crown prince and the training he received in his early days. It is clear from this record

.....Contd.

that Kirtivarma had been appointed as the crown prince on attaining proper age in the reign of Vikramāditya II. Kirtivarma II subsequently defeated the Pallavas and ^{benefitted} ~~benefited~~ himself to be called a sarvabhauma. The inscription points out that Kirtivarma, the donor of the grant, on attaining the proper age was made the Yuvaraja and in order to distinguish himself by some war-like exploit, requested permission⁶⁰ of his father to march against the kingdom of Kanchi, the enemy of the house. The inscription reads as follows: "His dear son, in youth, well instructed in the use of arms, perfect in subduing the six kinds of passions, who through the joy of his father felt on account of his good qualities had attained the rank of Yuvaraja, praying for an order saying, " send me to subdue the king of Kanchi, the enemy of our race.....; immediately on obtaining permission, he marched forth; and broke the power of the Pallavas. According to the practice prevailing in ancient times, the normal age for the prince to take an active part in political affairs was 24 or 25 years. This has been supported by the Hathigumpha inscription of king Kharavala of Kalinga ^{and also by the Brihaspati Sutra} The young prince marched against the Pallavas whose power had only been reduced in the preceding periods but not crushed. The prince made the Pallava ruler feel so much weakened that he was not able to withstand him in battle. So he was compelled to seek refuge in a hill-fort. Kirtivarma, then, seems to have left the Pallava ruler

there in the fort, scattered his armies and plundered his treasures and carried off elephants, rubies and gold which he gave to his father.

The Vokkaleri plates make mention of the capabilities of Chālukya Kings (leaving apart conventional phrases). For instance Vikramāditya I is referred to, as "perfect in wisdom and reverence". Vinay^āditya Satyaśraya is described as Tārakarāti (Kumaraśwami) the Balāndūśekhara (Śiva) to the forces of his enemies. Vi^ālay^āditya is said to have acquired in youth the use of all the weapons and accomplishments of a great king.

Regarding the attainments of Kīrtivarma II we may cite the inscription itself in part. The relevant portion of the record reads as follows:

"His dear son, in youth well instructed in the use of arms, perfect in subduing the six kinds of passions, who through the joy which his father felt on account of his good qualities had obtained the rank of Yuvaraja, praying for an order, saying, "Send me to subdue the king of Vānchī, the enemy of our race," immediately on obtaining it, marched forth and going against him broke the power of Pallava, who unable to make war on a large scale took refuge in a hill fort and capturing his lusty elephants, rubies and treasury of gold delivered them to his own father: thus in due time obtaining the title of Sarvabhauma, the lotus

of his feet covered with the pollen, the gold dust from the crowns of lines of kings prostrate before him through reverence or fear, Kirtivarma, favourite of the earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign thus commands all people....."

The inscription⁶⁰ also makes a reference to the training that Kirtivarma had received in his youth. He had acquired a knowledge of the use of all the weapons and secured the accomplishments necessary for a great king. He had a very bold and ambitious policy of even conquering the kingdoms in the north. So he was very well trained in the art of warfare. "War was his chief policy". By following the 'three modes of policy', he broke the pride of his enemies. By his generosity he won the affection of his people. He acquired a kingdom, 'resplendant with the Pālīhvaja⁶¹ and other tokens of all supreme wealth'.

Besides receiving training in the art of warfare, a crown prince, sometimes, issued grants⁶² as well, ^{which} as has been already pointed out in this Chapter earlier.

The prince was also permitted to participate in the deliberations of the king with the ministers. This opportunity was given to him with the main objective of making him acquaint himself with some of the certain core problems affecting the kingdom and their position. Although the Chalukya inscriptions do not give definite references

to the prince participating in the royal deliberations, it may be surmised that he was not beyond the pale of such deliberations and consultation which was so common among the kings of the period.

Section VII King's Coronation

The crown prince occupied a unique place in the political organisation of the kingdom. As the Chalukyas observed several vedic ceremonies, the crown prince would normally receive the designation and insignia of the office at a ceremonial function known as 'Yuvarajyabhisheka'. But the most important ceremony was the coronation of the prince as king. By means of this function, the prince was installed as the king either immediately after the demise of the ruling king or even in his last years of his rule, if he so desired. The coronation ceremony would also give the prince a legal title to govern and hence it was of great political and constitutional significance. Besides the religious nature of the ceremony it also had its secular character. The ceremony was conducted with all paraphernalia. The King-elect, after the celebration of his pattabandotsava would be taken in procession to the palace on horse-back and received thereby the ministers and prominent persons of the palace and the kingdom. If he was married, his chief queen would also be coronated along with him.

Inscriptions of the Chalukyas indicate that the Coronation ceremony was usually held at Pattadakal⁶³. Therefore Pattadakal acquired a prominent place. The name of the town Pattadakal finds mention in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas. In all probability Pattadakal was a seat of anointing the king and the coronation ceremony was also held there as well as at Badami. Such a practice was common even among the Chola kings of South India who had Tanjore, Gangaikonda Chelapuram and two other places as seat of Coronation of the king. It may be apt here to quote the opinion of Prof. Kielhorn who says that the 'prefix of the name Pattadakal, namely, 'Pattada' was evidently used in the sense of conducting the ceremony. The king was made to sit on a golden seat and decorated. If he was married, his principal queen also would sit beside him. Celebration of this significant function were held at Pattadakal and also Badami.⁶⁴

Section VIII The Royal Court

The royal court was an empire in miniature⁶⁵. The court symbolised the various interests of the Kingdom. It also provided an assurance to the king regarding security, and stability and safeguards of the kingdom. The kings maintained the dignity and decorum of the court. The court was attended by all the feudatories, the

members of the four-fold divisions of the army, dancers, spies and women. It was the general practice for the members of the army, Cavalry and elephant forces to wear costly and glamorous uniforms. The court was also attended by the crown prince, other princes, ministers, poets, astrologers, and other high dignitaries including envoys, if any. The court assembled once a year regularly for which there would be a gracious invitation by the king to all the feudatory rulers comprising the kingdom and other dignitaries. Absence of any such subordinate king, high official or dignitary without proper grounds and previous intimation to the king would give a hint to the king to ascertain whether the person so absent was loyal or not and help the king to get a confirmation of his impression about the person. Subsequently the king could think of precautionary measures or any course of action, considered fit, by him and also by his ministers, particularly if the absence of the person was deliberate and sufficient to cause some disturbance in the kingdom in the future.

Section IX Royal Preceptors

The princes and also the kings received rich and enduring training at the hands of preceptors who were noted for their learning and wisdom. Paldesai VI used to consult and adhere to the advice of the celebrated poet,

Ravikirti⁶⁶. Ravikirti has been referred to as one noted for wisdom in the Aihole inscription (verse 38). Vikramāditya I had as his preceptors, Sri Naghasharya, Nagavardhana and Vajravarna⁶⁷.

Section X The Queen

The queen held an important place in the administrative set up of the kingdom. Although the kings were in the habit of taking a number of wives, for various reasons described below, the most-senior queen was designated as Pattamahisi⁶⁸. On the coronation day, it was customary for the queen to take her seat on the throne with the king. The Chalukya inscriptions do not definitely say whether the queen took a cognisable part along with the king or not, in administration. However, an instance may be cited though it relates to a later date. Among the Rastrakuta kings, one queen Silamahadevi, by name associated with her husband in administration.

It was also a common practice that the queen would have received a certain amount of education and training even before her marriage. Normally the belief was held that the queen had her share of responsibility in the discharge of the kingly functions which vitally affected the kingdom. Her co-operation was expected in making the administration purposeful. Some of the queens

accompanied their kings during military expeditions. Similarly, some queens remained at the headquarters of the kingdom in the absence of the king and rendered help and guidance in administration. The queens also evinced a keen interest in the religious life of the people and in undertaking welfare and humanitarian activities.

Sometimes the queens were in the practice of conferring grants. For instance, an inscription⁶⁹ from the Virūpaksha temple belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya II states that the queen consort, Lokamahadevi confirmed the singers of the locality regarding the enjoyment of the grants and privileges that had been conferred on them by Vijayāditya. The conferment is to the effect that the covenants, bonds of morality or propriety, established rule, custom and agreement were restored as in previous years. One Pugganara of Tuppadugga in the country of Ereya obtained this concession.

One of the guiding principles on the part of the kings to select several wives besides the Pattamahisi was the system of dynastic marriages. Such a practice was common in India even from ancient times and it had the objective of strengthening the power and position of the ruling king. It also had another purpose of obtaining mutual benefits on the part of kings.

Matrimonial alliances, to strengthen the king's rule were common to political traditions of ancient India. For instance the Gupta monarch, Chandragupta II gave his daughter Prabhavati (by the Queen Kubera Nāga) to the Vakataka king ^{Rudrasena II} ~~Pravarasena~~ in order to enlist support and strength from the latter in his war against the Śakas of Western India (Malwa). Although the Chōlas belong to a slightly later period, one of their rulers viz., Aditya had given his daughter in marriage to Krishna II of the [↳] ~~Rastrakuta~~ ^{Rastrakuta} ~~dynasty~~ ^{dynasty}.

Pulakeshi I married Indukānti and Gurlabhadevi belonging to the Satpura family⁷⁰. Kirtivarma I married the sister of Rajasinha Vallabha Prithvivallabha of the 'endrak family⁷¹. Chandraditya's queen was the celebrated poetess, Vijayamahadevi⁷² or Vijja, mentioned in literary traditions. Pulakeshi II's queen was Padmaladevi⁷³. Vikramaditya's chief queen was Mahadevi (Lokamahadevi) of the Hahaya family. It was she who built the great temple of Śiva in the name of Lokēswara, now called the Virūpaksha temple at Pattadakal. Another queen of Vikramaditya was Trailokya Mahadevi⁷⁴, who was responsible for the construction of a great temple of Śiva in the name of Trailokyēswara, in the vicinity of Lokēswara's shrine. Kirtivarma II's chief queen was Mahadevi⁷⁵.

In the age of the Chālukya kings, some of the families which had acquired an important status were the Batpūra, the Haihaya, and the Sēndraka families with whom the Chālukya kings had formed matrimonial alliances and consolidated their power in Karnāṭaka. Of these dynasties, the one, by name Batpūra cannot be identified.

It will be apt to cite here the observation of Dr. P. B. Desai. Says he, that the marriage alliances became more common during the time of the Raṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhēd, (the successors of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi). For instance Krishna II, Jagattūṅga, his son Indra III, his son and Krishna III married Chēdi princess, Kalachūri Princess and Amoghavarsha III and Krishna III married Kalachuri princesses, respectively.

Section XI Celebration of Vedic Sacrifices

The Chālukya kings were in the practice of celebrating certain sacrifices which had a certain amount of political significance⁷⁶ in addition to their religious importance. Normally, celebration of the sacrifices would be resorted to by the kings after the establishment of peace and tranquillity within the kingdom.

It may be apt here to mention a few of the general aspects regarding celebration of sacrifices. For instance sacrifices like the Aśvamedha, the Rājāsūya and the

Vājapeya denoted and signified supremacy and sovereignty of the king, while the other ones like the Bahusuvarna, Paundarika etc. were of a religious significance. These sacrifices also aided the king to maintain goodwill among kings. These sacrifices became very common from the Gupta period.

Pulakēśi I performed the Asvamedha, Agnichayana, Vājapeya, Agnisthoma, Bahusuvarna and Paundarika sacrifices⁷⁷. Thus he celebrated both the secular and the religious sacrifices and by virtue of the former, laid the true foundations of the dominions. Kirtivarma I who acted as his father's commander-in-chief is stated to have celebrated the Bahusuvarna and Agnisthoma sacrifices subsequent to the foundation of the city of Badami by Pulakēśi I⁷⁸.

According to a later inscription, Pulakēśi II is said to have possessed horses and noble elephants and to have bestowed 2000 most excellent villages to the priests at the time of celebration of the horse sacrifice. As pointed already, the glory of the Asvamedha sacrifice as celebrated by and acquired by Pulakēśi I must have been subsequently associated with the person and rule of Pulakēśi II also, on account of the latter's great renown. Hence an inscription⁷⁹ of a later date refers to celebration of the sacrifice in the reign of Pulakēśi II.

According to the Gadval plates⁸⁰, Vikramāditya I is said to have performed the *Asvamedha* or the Horse-sacrifice. Celebration of this sacrifice by kings after Pulakēśi I is only the association of the fame and glory of the sacrifice to Pulakēśi II and Vikramāditya I.

Section XII Secretariat

A large number and variety of land records and copperplates of the Chālukya kings are available. They point out to the existence of a system of drafting of royal orders and endowments by the king's confidential officers. There must also have been a central office like the modern secretariat which was the source of all state business and transactions.

Pulakēśi I is stated to have made two grants after founding of the capital city of Vatāpi⁸¹ (Badāmi). But a larger number of land grants were issued by Kirtivarma I than those of Pulakēśi I. He gave the entire village of Langigēśvara to a cave temple of Viṣṇu built by his brother Mangalēśa⁸². Mangalēśa's donative records from Kēṛūr⁸³, Mahākūta⁸⁴, and Badāmi⁸⁵ register grants of land to temples and scholars. Records of Pulakēśi II are available from Haiderabad⁸⁶ and Goa⁸⁷. He made a gift of a village of Makarappi near the villages of Kōlkurki⁸⁸ and Gudagah to a learned inhabitant of Tagara near Daulatabad. The Haiderabad copper plate, Goa copper plate, Kaira⁸⁹ copper plate, Sanjan plates⁹⁰, Rayagadah⁹¹ and other records of the same period by the kings of the Eastern

Chalukya line refer to gift of land to men of learning and temples as well. Gifts of land by Yuvarāja Vishnuvardhana⁹² in the time of Pulakēsi II in Alandah tirtha, Karmārastra and the villages of Benira and Dhulipura⁹³ were given as religious gifts to God Mahādeva. Pulakēsi's maternal uncle, Senanandarāja⁹⁴ gave certain portions of the village in Amravatika Vishaya. Grants made by the Sēndraka Chief Bargaṇakti⁹⁵, son of Kundasakti and grandson of Jayasakti are also extant. Another grant of Pulakēsi II⁹⁶ registers a gift of land of the village of Kuvalanāsh to a learned person. Similarly, the Chiplun plates also register a gift of land by Pulakēsi IV. Another grant of Pulakēsi II refers to the donation of the island of Kēvati. The purpose of this grant is to register a gift for the maintenance of the bali, cheru and vaiśvadeva sacrifices⁹⁷. The Kochre grant of Vijaya-mahādevi shows that the gift of land was made in the village of Kocchūraka for the promotion of religious activities¹⁰⁰. A grant by Abhinavāditya¹⁰¹, grandson of Pulakēsi II registers a gift of land to a learned brahmin. Records of Vikramāditya I from Kurnool¹⁰², Bellary¹⁰³, Savantavadi¹⁰⁴ and other areas register gifts of land. He also bestowed the village of Kurthakunte¹⁰⁵ in the Belvola country to a learned individual. Vikramāditya gave a gift of the village of Chintakunte¹⁰⁶ near Kundegol to one Handiswamy for his attainment and excellence of

the supreme knowledge of the entire vedānta through austerities and penance. By way of honouring his preceptor, Śrī Meghachārya, Vikramāditya gave a gift of the village of Elasattigrāma¹⁰⁷, situated near Kalchumbra.

Records of Vinayāditya are found in Raichur¹⁰⁸, Bellary¹⁰⁹, Kurnool¹¹⁰, ^{Andhra Pradesh} Keppal¹¹¹, ^{Surat} Gadval¹¹² and Palayattana¹¹³, ^{Poona} Poona¹¹⁴, Lakshmeswar¹¹⁵ and Pattoda¹¹⁶ regions. They register grant of villages to learned men and temples. Inscriptions mention grant of villages like Marivalli, the town of Bhaltikavada, the villages of Peravanūr, Gangavur, Puligere and Gondagrama. Vinayāditya also gave a few villages on the banks of the river Pampa and some villages in Togurshade¹¹⁷ and Kurnool districts. He also made a gift to learned persons in Kalavadi Vishaya¹¹⁸. He also restored certain grants previously given to temples and individuals in the presence of the Vishayapati and gramakootas. He bestowed charities when he made a journey to Kuranda from his permanent residence at the capital, Raktapura¹¹⁹, situated on the northern bank of the river Malapahārī. This fact is evidenced by a set of copper plates which register gift of land to persons well versed in Vedic lore. For the reign of Vijayāditya, there are several references in inscriptions registering gifts of land. The Mahakūta inscription^{113(a)}, Nerūr copper plate¹²⁰, a stone inscription from Kettapalle¹²¹ (Ananthapur district), Shiggaon copper plate¹²⁴, Morum

plates¹²⁵, Rayagadh plates¹²⁶ and Mayalur¹²⁷ and Karuva copper plates¹²⁸ mention gifts of land.

In the reign of Vikramaditya II, an inscription¹²⁹ in the Virupaksha temple, a record from Tippaluru in^{129(a)} Kamalapuram taluk of Guddepet district, an inscription from Chikkanandihalli¹³⁰, record of Mukteswara temple, Lakshmeswar stone inscription¹³¹ provide references to gifts of land.

Though, Kirtivarma II was the last great ruler of the dynasty, he did not lag behind his predecessors in the issue of land grants. The Adur stone inscription¹³², and Vekkaleri plates offer references to gifts of land to ascetics, scholars and temples. The Adur grant (about A.D. 750) was announced in public and attested by Hnehhovinda and others as witnesses. He also made a gift to a temple of Jinendra in the City of Pandipura. In addition to this gift, Kirtivarma caused the construction of a danasala or hall for the distribution of charity at the Jaina temple built by a village gamunda or headman. He also made another grant of land to a well-versed scholar by name Krishnaswamy.

Many of the land grants contain elaborate description of the boundaries of the land offered as gifts to give more accuracy regarding the size of land. Some of the grants

also contain names of witnesses before whom the gift was made. They also contain details of the purpose of the grant. Hence, ^{we} ~~I~~ may infer that there must have been a record office where all the land grants were not only prepared but also preserved for future use.

References to a number of Charter writers and private secretaries show that there must have been a central office at the capital city where all the land records, treaties of war and peace announcements of levy of taxes, conferments by the king, exemption of taxes by the king and trade concessions to economic guilds must have been maintained. Ever since the time of Manu, there was a practice of having a systematised body of servants for the governance of the kingdom. The office of records and documents of endowments and other grants of a miscellaneous nature must have been under the supervision and care of an officer. He must have been in charge of accounts and records and his name in the period of Harsha^h and later years was clearly mentioned as Akshpatalika¹³³.

Section XIII

Ministers

Writers on Hindu polity unanimously agree in recommending that a king should always act in consultation with a group of ministers and also get their cooperation. A proper exercise of sovereign powers by the king was possible only with the assistance of well qualified ministers¹³⁴. The king selected and appointed ministers.

Ministers so appointed were generally speaking, men of sterling character and possessed very high qualifications. Writers on polity have prescribed a list of qualifications¹³⁸ to be possessed by good ministers. When one reads through the long list of qualifications, one is surprised at this list and entertains a doubt whether the list was something maintained as an ideal or conventional description^{or} actually possessed by the ministers. But it is also true to point out that a very large kingdom like the Chālukyas was satisfactorily administered and what is more, provided with the needed security and solidarity. It also achieved progress for a good number of years. This was possible only with a group of able, loyal devoted and hard-working ministers who thought in terms of the interest of the country in which they served and whose aspirations were entirely associated with it.

Unfortunately, the data for the study of origin, constitution and functions of the group of ministers (known in later times as the king's council) under the rule of the Chālukya kings is very meagre. However, a study of the history of their immediate predecessors and contemporaries as far as incorporating in their administrative set up a council of ministers, indicates that the Chālukyas also could not have carried on their administration without a group of ministers. The Council comprised of top-ranking ministers. The king consulted ^{such} ministers

and took decisions on important matters of home and foreign affairs.

The ministers were assisted in their work of administration by officers. For instance, references are available pointing out the existence of a council of ministers in the Satavahana period. The ministers were called amaccas¹³⁶ under the Satavahanas. Under the Kadambas, a Council of five ministers functioned¹³⁷. Even the names of the ministers like mannevargade (Steward of the household) tantropala (an officer well-versed in state-craft), Pradhana (minister of State) and Steward of betelbag and Secretary of the Council appear in their records. Among the Pallavas of Kanchi, mention is made in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple inscription¹³⁸ of a council of ministers to assist the government of the kingdom. Even among the Ganga kings¹³⁹, the contemporary allies of the Western Chalukyas, there appears to have functioned a council of ministers. Their inscriptions mention the designations and indicate their main functions. They were - Sarvadhikari, Dandamayaka, Manevargade, Niraya bhandari, the yuvaraja, Sandhivigrahi, Sutrādhikari and Manapradhana. Among these functionaries only the top-ranking members were included in the Council of ministers. — For instance, the Manapradhana, Yuvaraja and Sandhivigrahi. Rest of the functionaries were officers assisting the king and his ministers. The Rastrakutas who succeeded the Chalukyas of Badami had also set up a council of ministers.

Taking the position of ministers among the kings of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi - an offshoot of the main dynasty - we get a clear evidence of the existence of a council of ministers in their records. The administration of a Vishaya was carried on with the help of certain functionaries whose status was similar to that of ministers. They were - the mantrin, parohita, yuvaraja, senapati, amatya, pradhana^{ana}, dhauvarika, katakara, bandadhinatha and Dandanayaka, commander of the army, minister chiefs, superintendent of the royal camp door-keeper, chief justice and judge. In this instance also, the mantri, Parohita, Yuvaraja, amatya, Pradhana formed the members of the council of ministers while others comprised officers who assisted the king and his ministers in administration. Among the list of officers given, the place of the minister was next in importance to that of the Sovereign. It may be quite suited here to quote king Vimaladitya's declaration in his Ranastapundi grant, which reads, that, "among the seven constituent parts of a kingdom, the foremost is sovereignty and second to it is a suitable ministry (amatya-pada)".¹⁴⁰

Another contemporary power of the Chalukyas of Badami was that of Harsha. Harsha had set up a large empire in the north. During the age of Harsha, the

administrative organisation was organised on sound and systematic lines. The Harṣacarita¹⁴¹ mentions several imperial officers like the Mahāsandhivivigrahadhikṛita, the Mahābaladhikṛita and the Mahāpratihāra. Similarly, land-grante of Harṣa speaks of officers like Mahākṣapataladhikaranadhikṛita, Samantasamahārāja and the Mahākṣapatalika, ~~Samantasamahārāja~~, the Mahāpramātara; Mahāsamantha, the Mahāsandhivivigrahadhikṛita, the Mahābaladhikṛita and the Mahāpratihāra. It is very likely that all these functionaries must have formed a Council because collective deliberation of the ministers in the interest of the State has been affirmed as the best method, in all books on ancient Indian Polity.

In the same manner, an inscription of Dharmapala II¹⁴² dated in the Vallabhi year - Sam. 252 (A.D. 571-72) makes mention of official designations like the Samapati or Bhataraka Ayuktakas, Miniyuktakas; Arangikas, mahattaras, chāṭas, bhāṭas, dhruvadhikaranikas, saulikas, pratisarakas, dandapasikas, chaurodhanarikas and others. Other names of functionaries like duṭaka, and sandhivivigrahadhikṛita are also mentioned. The grant is stated to have been given by king Dharmapala to all the above mentioned officers. However the council of ministers comprised of the top-ranking functionaries and the rest were functionaries who assisted the king and his ministers.

Likewise, another forged Vallabhi grant of Dharasena II saka sam. 400 also states that the king "being in good health, addresses these orders to all governors of Zillas, governors of taluks, headman of villages, officials and employees, greatmen, chieftains and others"¹⁴³. These functionaries ~~have ever~~ ^{however} did not comprise the king's Council of Ministers but were the assistants of the king and his ministers.

Although the term 'Council' does not occur in the records of the period, we may infer that the ministers appointed by the king formed themselves into a Council and assisted the king in the discharge of his functions. The ministry was the most important wheel of administrative machinery. Even Kautilya recommends that at least 3 ministers were to be appointed by the king to assist him¹⁴⁴. It is quite likely that the ministers - 3 in number or even more - acted jointly and formed a council to carry on deliberations and assist the king in the discharge of his functions. Kautilya is also of the opinion that the council could comprise as many ministers as adequate to meet the requirements of the dominion.

In view of the existence of a council of ministers in the kingdoms which flourished in Karnatak^a just before and after the rule of Western Chalukyas, we may reasonably surmise that the Chalukya kings must have had

a few ministers who acted collectively and formed a Council as well. The functions must also have been similar to those of a Council which prevailed in the contemporary kingdoms. A large empire as that of the Chalukyas of Badami could not have carried on its administration without a group of Counsellors or ministers¹⁴⁵.

(A glossary of administrative functionaries as far as available in the inscriptions has been given in the Appendix).

Section XIV

Central Government

Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers under the rule of the Chalukya kings of Badami comprised the king, the crown Prince (Yuvaraja) and the high Minister for foreign affairs or War and Peace (the Mahāsāndvirgrahi).

These functionaries must have formed a Council to advise and assist the king in the discharge of his functions as kingship in ancient Karnatak^{as} as well as in India was sinequonon with the Sachiva, Mantri or Minister and known to have taken decisions on affairs of the kingdom in the mantralōchana sabha (Council of ministers for deliberation). Very few kings acted

independently of the council of ministers. Certain designations like the Mahādandanāyaka and the Mahā Sandhivigrahi clearly show that as the Chālukya Kingdom became extensive and attained supremacy in Karnāṭaka, even the designations must have underwent a change from dandanāyaka and Sandhivigrahi to Mahādandanāyaka and Mahāsandhivigrahi, respectively.

King

The king was the pivot of administration. He presided over the deliberations of the Ministry. The Personal Character of the King exercised much influence on taking decisions on home and foreign policies. From a general study of the available material we may say that a king like Pulakēśi II guided the destinies of the kingdom by his wise counsel and farsightedness. In the same manner it was customary that the king would not bypass the considered opinions given by the ministers, some of whom were very well known for their age, maturity of wisdom and learning.

For instance, Ravikīrti, the celebrated poet in the Court of Pulakēśi was also known for his deep foresight and wisdom. A stone tablet set into the outside of the east wall of a temple at Nēguti states that the learned Ravikīrti composed the eulogy in the Aihole Prasasti. Making use of the occasion of founding a

Jaina temple at Aihole, Ravikirti has described the achievements of Pulakēśi II in the Prasasti.

Yuvaraja

The Yuvaraja (Crown-Prince or heir-apparent) held a very prominent position in the council. It was customary for the kings to have associated the Yuvaraja in all the business of the kingdom, because it was he who ^{held} ~~had~~ the responsibility of maintaining the kingdom intact after he assumed the place of the king. As a matter of fact the Yuvaraja was known by the designation 'Kumaramatyā' in the Gupta period which meant that he was a "Counsellor of the Crown".

The term Yuvaraja, according to Dr.D.C.Sircar¹⁴⁶ was the designation of the heir - apparent or crown prince. According to Kautilya¹⁴⁷ the Yuvaraja is considered as one of the 18 'tirthas' of the State. He occupied an elevated place in the council of ministers. The council referred to as 'Parishat' in the Arthashastra comprised two units - the Pradhāna mantri, Purohita, Senapati, and Yuvaraja, forming the inner cabinet and Dauvarika, Antarvāsika and others forming the external unit. The main purpose of the Yuvaraja being permitted to participate in the deliberations of the council (particularly an accomplished and able crown prince)

was that he should become conversant with the conduct of business in the council, get a full and first hand knowledge of the affairs of the kingdom but also form a correct impression of the attitude of the affiliations and loyalty of the members of the council. Needless to conclude that all these placed him in a good stead when he succeeded to the throne. 2

We get a clear idea from the inscriptions of the Chālukyas regarding the distinctive role played by the 'Yuvarāja' in the affairs of the kingdom, since the times of Kirtivarma I or at least Pulakēśi II. The achievements of Vikramāditya, Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, Kirtivarma (II) and of Kubja Vishnu vardhana of the Eastern Chālukya branch have been referred to earlier in this chapter. Further the Chālukya inscriptions describe that the Yuvarāja had the right to status of Panchamahābhāṣa and Samānta and invested with a necklace as insignia of his office, from the days of Pulakēśi VI.

The Mahāsandhivigrahika

Among the top-ranking functionaries whose designations appear in the Chālukya records as the Sandhivigrahi (Later styled as Mahāsandhivigrahi) (The Minister for War and Peace and the High (great) Minister for war and peace, respectively) played a very prominent role in the administrative organisation of the Chālukya kingdom.

The Sandhivigrahi was the minister of war and peace and the Mahāsandhivigrahi as the same office was designated in later years of the Chālukya rule, was the Great or High Minister of war and peace. He was solely responsible for looking after the foreign affairs as directed by the king and guided by himself also. As such he must have exerted his influence on the king to a very great degree, particularly, in taking decisions on matters concerning defence of the land, declaration of war and conclusion of peace. The peace and tranquility of the kingdom depended very much on his efficiency and safety measures. He therefore occupied an exalted position and enjoyed the supreme confidence of the king.

The designation of the Sandhivigrahi is always associated with one of the basic departments of administration namely, Sandhikarana. This term denotes that it was a department entrusted with foreign affairs. An officer incharge of this department, according to D.D.C. Sircar¹⁴⁸, was known as Sandhivigrahadhikṛita or Sandhivigrahin or Sandhivigrahin. Sandhivigrahin or the Mahā Sandhivigrahin was not merely the minister incharge of war and peace, but he was also incharge of foreign relations department. He also wrote important charters of the king.

The office of the Sandhivigrahi existed in India since the days of the epics. The Mahabharata mentions the designation. Therefore this office was an ancient one associated with "acts of peace and that of war".

It is interesting to note that the designation of the term 'Sandhivigrahi' was derived from the earliest term 'duta'. According to Arthashastra¹⁴⁹, Rajadharma Parvan and Manusmriti the term 'duta', meant a foreign minister. This term underwent a change through the times. Most of the epigraphical ~~reports~~^{records}, particularly in Chalukya records, make use of the more pompous and expensive title of 'Mahasandhivigrahi' to denote the person who held that responsible office in the Ministry.

In many of the inscriptions of the Chalukya kings the foreign minister is referred to as the 'Mahasandhivigrahi' the high minister who was entrusted with arrangement of war and peace. The circumstances of the period must have necessitated the acquisition of paramount importance in the administrative set up. Defence of the frontiers, peace and order in the provinces and territories of the feudatory kings and wars with the Pallavas account justly for the distinctive place, in a way, enjoying a unique place and ^{finds} mention in the records of the Chalukya kings.

The Mahāsandhi vighrahi was also entrusted with the work of composing grants and charters issued by the king¹⁵⁰. For instance a Vallabhi grant of A.D. 478-79 (almost of the same period covered by the thesis) states that the record was written by Skandabhatta the minister for peace and war, in the reign of Dharasena¹⁵¹.

Likewise Vajravarma and Jayasena held the office of the Mahāsandhivighrahi in the reign of Vikramāditya I¹⁵².

The Dayyamadinne record of Vinayāditya¹⁵³ was composed by Sri Rama Punyavallabha. He also wrote other charters of the king wherein he is described as the Mahāsandhivighrahi, or the high minister for and peace. The relevant line reads as follows: "Mahāsandhivighrahi Sri Rama Punyavallabheva likitham idam sasanam". For instance, the Tegurshode inscription¹⁵⁴ states that the grant was made by Ramapunyavallabha, the Mahāsandhivighrahi or the minister for peace and war. It adds further that this charter was written by Sri Ramapunyavallabha the Mahāsandhivighrahi - the high (minister) who was entrusted with the arrangements of peace and war. The terms of reference used in the instance of this minister conclusively proves the high position occupied by the minister for foreign affairs^{155a} and also how treaties of peace, declaration of war and other orders were entrusted to be composed by a

minister of such eminence and confidence. Similarly, another copper plate grant of Vinayaditya dated A.D. 695 and also the Harihar Plates¹⁵⁵ were written by the same Minister who occupied the high position. In the same manner, the Nérur copper plate¹⁵⁷ refers to Niravadya Punyavallabha as the 'Mahasandhivigrahika' or the high minister for war and peace. The relevant portion of the inscription reads thus: Mahasandhivigrahika, Nira (va) dya. Punya Vallabhenaalikhitam-i-dam Sasanam'. Finally, the Vokkaléri plates¹⁵⁸ mentions that Anivarita Dhananjaya Punyavallabha occupied the same position in the reign of Kirtivarma II.

Another administrative functionary of the status of a minister was the 'Senapati' (Commander-in-chief) In one of the inscriptions from Aihole, (No. LIX Laddhan) although belonging to a slightly later period, there is the mention of the term 'Senapati'. ^{Such an} ~~This~~ office was held by one Skandabhatta, according to the inscription¹⁵⁶, ^{already referred to} Subsequently, the Senapati must have been subordinated to the Mahasandhivigrahika thus losing his previous ^{status} independent ~~status~~ and also the place in the council.

According to Dr.D.C.Sirker¹⁵⁸, the term Senapati or Senani or Senadhipati was equivalent to that of Dandanāyaka. He was also sometimes called Mahapradhana. Pradhana was the official designation used to indicate

the designation of the Chief Minister or administrator. Sometimes he was also called Pradhāna Sachiya.

It is apt here to point out that in the dominions of Harsha, the contemporary of Pulakēśi II, another functionary discharging the functions of a Dandanāyaka existed. This office was called Balādhikrita or commander of the army. He may also have been the head of a territorial unit.

Dandanāyaka, Mahādandanāyaka

Another functionary whose status was that of a minister was the "Dandanāyaka". He exercised functions of 'leader of the forces'. Some of them happened to be the feudatory chiefs who were designated as 'dandanāyaka' on account of skill in warfare, devoted and loyal service to the country and the king. As loyal chiefs, they must also have held the position of ruling over a territorial division belonging to the king. As a high provincial officer, he must have supervised collection of revenue due to the kingdom and remittances of collections after retaining the portion of the revenue collections for himself as reward for his services.

Similarly, the term Mahādandanāyaka was common to India since the rule of the Kushānas. It was also in vogue in the 3rd century in the Telugu country. The term indicates a military title, denotes the position of a judge, Chief officer of police, Prefect of Police, a high Judicial officer or a great general according to Dr. Fleet, Bloch, Marshall, Vogel, Vogue and Linders, respectively.

According to Dr. Sircar, the designation, Dandanāyaka meaning a military commander also stood for Mahāsamanta, Mahāpradhana or Sarvadhikari. (Ep. Gl. p. 80).

According to Marshall, N.G. Majumdar and R.G. Basak, the office of the Dandanāyaka indicated respectively, an officer of police, a Judge and a Magistrate. This officer, therefore, had military and judicial functions because the army under the direction of the Dandanāyaka, 'was also the rod of Punishment'.

Rahasyadhikrīta

The rahasyadhikrīta was another important officer who must have held the status of a minister. Reference to this term is available in even the Kadamba

inscriptions. Even as early as the 5th century A.D. there is the mention of the term 'rahasyā-dhikṛita' or Private Secretary under the Kadamba King, Mandhatri varma. His name was Damodarabhatta.

According to P.P.C. Sircar¹⁵⁹, the functionary 'rahasyādhikṛita' was an officer who functioned as a 'Privy Counsellor' or Private Secretary.

'Prakṛiti' (Representatives of Several Classes)

In one or two inscriptions, mention is made of the term 'Prakṛiti'¹⁶⁰. This term is not uncommon to ancient Indian polity. Even before the time of the epics, the use of the word 'Prakṛiti' is found in ancient books.

According to Neelakantha, the term includes seven functionaries viz., Durgādhyakṣa (commandant of the Citadel), Balādhyakṣa (Controller General of the army), Dharmādhyakṣa (Chief of the departments of charity and justice), Samūpati (Commander in the field), and others like the Chaplain, Physician and astrologer. A question arises whether these officers functioned in the Chalukya kingdom.

According to V.G. Apte's dictionary, the term 'Prakṛiti' denotes the constitution^{ent} elements of a state. They are the king, Minister, allies, treasury, army, territory, fortresses and another, sometimes, standing along with the seventh element, viz., a Corporate body

of citizens. Hence the term 'Prakriti' denotes a term implying the king's ministry, subjects in general and also a corporate body of citizens. Sometimes the term 'Prakriti' was also used to denote the 'Saptāṅga' or the seven elements of the State as the use of the term 'Prakriti Saptāṅga' shows.

According to Kittel's dictionary, the term 'Prakriti' stands for the term 'astadāsa - pradhāna' or eighteen ministers. The use of this term 'astadāsa Pradhāna' may be found in Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra, Panchatantra, Śantiparvan of the Mahābhārata and Pajatarangini'.

In fact, the Lakṣmīśvar Pillar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya states that the latter granted the social constitution in his capacity as Yuvarāja to the Mahājanas and the burgesses and the 18 prakritis of Pōrigere. Some writers suggest that a group of 18 ministers is not a valid connotation of the term cited above and that it should be understood to mean the classes of Population. They argue that population was usually being classified into eighteen Jātis or communities.

The Lakṣmīśvar pillar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya states that a charter was granted to the mahājanas and the burgesses and the 18 prakritis denotes ~~normally, 18 royal ministers on whom the charter was~~

of Porigere¹⁶¹. Ordinarily the term means a minister and mention of 18 prakritis denotes normally, 18 royal ministers on whom the charter was conferred. But as this meaning does not suit the context in the inscription, it is to be interpreted that the constitution was granted by Vikramāditya to the prominent leaders of the various classes of population comprising 18 classes. As the classes themselves could not have received the charter, it should be surmised that the 18 prakrit¹⁶² must have been the 18 chief representatives of the 18 divisions. Therefore the 18 representatives in the time of Vikramāditya's conferring the charter were recognised by the imperial authority as very responsible and prominent members to whom was entrusted implementation of the charter and of the various provisions of the Charter in the whole locality.

Section XV. Territorial administration

The Chalukya kings exercised authority over the several territorial units which comprised their dominions. Broadly speaking the limits were either under the rule of a Governor, appointed by the king or areas ruled even by feudatory allies. An account of the territorial units and their administration is given in Chapter III¹⁶².

Section XVI Other functionaries

The Chalukya inscriptions provide some information on some of the other functionaries employed by the kings. They were the Lekhaka¹⁶³, the architects¹⁶⁴ and craftsmen.

The lekha was a charter-writer. He was also a composer of inscriptions, land-grants and oral orders of the king. He was a man of great literary accomplishments. He would have worked along with several colleagues who drafted and inscribed royal charters. Their work possibly was carried on under the supervision of the Sandhivigrahi. Hence there must have been a special department in which men having a technical knowledge of the work were busy in writing of charters. As drafting of charters and inscriptions required a knowledge of the scripts, languages and technique of drafting and engraving¹⁶⁵, it may be reasonably surmised as pointed out already, that there must have been a central office of record where materials of engraving, registers of all original charters and documents were maintained and used from time to time. Generally, the grants contained the royal sign manual, the names of the composer of grant and the person who conveyed it to the grantee¹⁶⁶. For instance, a record at Badami assigned to the reign of..... is stated to have been engraved by Aghavinasiga¹⁶⁷. The

Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II composed by Ravikīrti, the Mahāsāndhivigrahika the style of which exhibits that he was a great scholar and well-versed in arts and sciences, must have been set to writing by a lēkhaka.

The Peddavadaguru stone inscription from Anantapur states that it was written by one Mahēndra pallavāchārī¹⁶⁸.

Similarly, the Gadwal plates¹⁶⁹ of Vikramāditya I was composed by the Mahāsāndhivigrahika, 'the glorious Jayasēna' and set to writing by a lēkhaka. In the same way, another of his inscription, namely, the Tālmānchi plates is stated to have been written by Vajravarmā¹⁷⁰.

We come across another name of a person known as

Ringutṭi¹⁷¹ as having written another record. The

Vokkalēri plates of Kīrtivarmā II was composed by the Mahāsāndhivigrahika, Śrīmad Anivarita Dhananjaya

Punyavallabha¹⁷² and set to writing by a lēkhaka. The

Annigeri inscription of Kīrtivarmā II is stated to have

been written by a person called Nīśapāla¹⁷³. The Yekkeri

rock inscription was written by Isana¹⁷⁴. Another inscription of Kīrtivarmā (II ?) from Anantapur^(Sūramma nīshaya) was written by one Bharata

It may be apt here to mention that many charters

were written by the family writers bearing the surname,

Punyavallabha. According to the Dayyemadinne records,

Ramapunya vallabha is stated to have written the charters of the king.

The Rayaghad plates of Vijayāditya¹⁷⁵ refers to the writer as Niravadya Punyavallabha. It is known from the Kānchi inscription of Vikramāditya II that Anivārīta Punyavallabha¹⁷⁶, successor of Sri Rāma punyavallabha wrote the record in saka 616. The Vēndur grant¹⁷⁷ states that Dhananjaya Punyavallabha wrote the record in saka 672. He speaks himself as Srīmad Anivārīta Dhananjaya Punyavallabha in the Vokkaleri plates¹⁷⁸ of saka 679.

Another record assigned to the reign of mentions one, Vināyaka son of Dirghobhaya¹⁷⁹ as the writer of the charter apportioning Certain villages

Sometimes, the name of the architect is found engraved on some records. For instance, the record of king Vinayāditya and the Śāndraka ruler Pegilli (saka 655) mentions the name of Anantaguna¹⁸⁰, as the ^{A(na)ntgunaya} (degulakke - Kottudu) architect. There must have been a large number of technical staff like the engravers in stone, carpenters, and stone masons employed for the purpose of engraving inscriptions. Another inscription No. XCI from Pattadakal records the name of Gundā as the builder of the temple. While it refers to readmission of artisans of a locality who were outcasts before, it mentions a term, 'balligavārte', or a caste or a group of skilful people. The term indicates that there existed a large

number of artisans who had obtained great mastery in masonry and building construction.

Incidentally, ^{we} I may mention that the names of temple builders also find mention in the records. For instance the Pattadakal temple is stated to have been built by one Gundā, mentioned already, who was known by the title 'Tribhuvanāchārya'. He is also styled as 'Sarvasiddhichārya' as borne out by the inscription. Similarly, the Papanatha temple is stated to have been built by the guild of Sarvasiddhichārya. An inscription in this temple is in praise of one Chattera - Ravādī/1 Ovajja who was the builder of the most celebrated temples in the southern country and that he belonged to the guild of Sarvasiddhachārya.

Section XVII

REGENCY

In the administrative history of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, Regency was an important feature of occurrence. Generally speaking, the need for a regency arose whenever a young prince was anointed who could not by himself look after the responsibilities and problems of administration. The need for a regent would also arise in the case of a minor son or even in the period of ^a king dying without an heir and consequently entrusting the kingdom to be administered by the king's brother or the nearest relative.

The Miraj plates¹⁸¹ point out that Mangalēśa became a regent during the minority of his nephew Pulakēśi II, ~~as Pulakēśi~~ was the eldest son of Kirtivarma I. As Pulakēśi was only a minor at the time of death of Kirtivarma, he entrusted the care of the kingdom to his brother Mangalēśa. Mangalēśa was all along a very loyal brother and would do anything only with the permission of Kirtivarma. ^{we} I have already pointed out how Mangalēśa gave expression to his affection to his brother by dedicating a cave temple at Bādāmi. Therefore, Kirtivarma, in good trust, appointed Mangalēśa to rule the kingdom till Pulakēśi came of age. In the early years of the regency, Mangalēśa ruled in the best interest of the royal family and the kingdom. He, at first, had no intention of usurping the throne for himself or place his own son on the throne and thus deprive Pulakēśi of his good claim. But he did not continue this attitude for long; soon, he carried his personal ambition too far and ^{at the end of} to place his son on the throne which subsequently led to the civil war¹⁸² between him and Pulakēśi, but finally Mangalēśa lost his life in battle and Pulakēśi won the throne.

The basis on which a regency¹⁸³ is normally set up has been pointed out already. The regent thus appointed was expected to hold the kingdom in trust till the attainment of age by the minor son. The regent is also

expected to do anything in the name and ^{on} behalf of the minor. So, the period of regency cannot constitute a period of 'kinglessness' or 'arājajaka'¹⁸⁴, because the regent would fill in the deficiency of the kingdom and maintain it intact. From this point of view, Mangalēśa fell short of the expectations, became selfish and wicked as to perpetuate rule of his own family. He also broke the promise which he had made to Kirtivarma I, who had breathed his last in peace. Therefore as unlawful attempts for throne or other possessions would have it, Mangalēśa became the target of popular hatred from the people, feudatories and ministers of the kingdom. Ultimately he was foiled in his attempts, as events proved later.

Another instance of regency is to be found in the Savantavādi region which formed a provincial unit of the empire. The Nēnur plates¹⁸⁵ read along with the Kochre grant¹⁸⁶ gives us to understand that Vijayabhattachārika did reign after her husband's death -- probably as regent -- during the childhood of a son whose subsequent death must have led to taking over the province by Vikramāditya for purpose of administration. The Kochre grant was issued by Vijayamahādēva or Vijayabhattachārika, the queen consort of Chandraditya¹⁸⁷. Possibly she ruled her husband's dominion not only as a regent but as Governor also.

Section x VIII Rājamāta

In the case of a minor son succeeding to the throne, there was a practice for the queen mother to have guided administration. She styled herself as the 'rājamāta'. The Bādāmi inscription of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya mentions that the temple at Bādāmi was founded by Vinayavati¹⁸⁸. Vinayavati is described as 'rājamāta'. According to this record, Vinayāditya had a queen, Vinayavati who may have survived her husband. She established a sanctuary and made an endowment to it in the reign of her son. The record also gives for the first time the name of Vinayavati. She installed the images of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahāśvara at Vātāpi.

Section xx. Courtesans

A few records indicate the part played by women. For instance, the Kōchre grant¹⁸⁹ makes mention of a concubine or *hāharlot* by name Vinapōti or Pōdāi. She was the beloved mistress of Vijayāditya. She made gifts at the time of making the 'hiraṇyagarbhādāna' to the 'deity comprising a pitha set with rubies covered by a silver umbrella and a field called Mangululle measuring 800 units'.

Her grandmother, Rēvanāñchal and her daughter Kuchipōti bestowed the entire gift of a 'hiraṇyagarbha' and having a pedestal for the god with rubies and having set

up its silver umbrella, gave the field called Mangalulle (of the measure of eight hundred).

Names of two other women ^{also} appear in inscriptions of ^{wh.} ~~also~~ famous for their gifts. An inscription states that to the temple of Vijayēśvara, Mātibhōdama made a votive offering of a pillar: 'Pāka (was) the fashioner of the ornamentation of these two pillars of Mātibhōdama'-thus concludes the inscription. Similarly another inscription on the north face of another pillar on the south side of the nave in the centre hall of the above temple speaks of this two other pillars as the votive offering of Chālabbe, a harlot of the temple.

Section XXI

Oral Orders

The Chālukya kings were in the practice of issuing decrees or proclamations. Their inscriptions mention the term 'rāja /rāvitaṃ' ^{189(a)} (royal proclamation). For instance, the Belgaṃ inscription of Vinayāditya, Aihole inscription of Vikramāditya II, and the Lakṣmēśwar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya make references to the term. Such orders of the kings were set to writing by secretaries who waited on them. Subsequently, the orders were communicated to the concerned officers or parties or engraved on stone or copper plate. It is significant to note that a minister of a very high rank

as the Mahāsandhivigrahika drafted the proclamations of the king as is borne out from the closing lines of the inscriptions, cited earlier in this Chapter.

Section XXII

Administration of Justice

Inscriptions of the Chālukyas do not describe any Judicial organisation which prevailed in the kingdom. However, it may be inferred that the king himself occupied the place of the highest Judge. According to the practice in the monarchical states and Kaṭilyan Principles, the king was the fountain of Justice. But he must have been assisted by a number of courts - Civil and Criminal - in his work of dispensing justice. There may have been a department of justice. There was proper enquiry of the accused person and trial. If the ^{defendant} department was not guilty, he was acquitted; otherwise he was punished. Guilt was proved or disproved by evidences like the instruments used in committing the crime, accomplices and abettors, the stolen articles and persons concerned in their sale or purchase was taken into account. The Kaṭilyan ideal of justice between man and man was generally followed. In the villages, the village headman or the village assembly assisted the imperial authority by deciding cases arising in the locality. Sometimes the guilds and grāhis in towns

decided the cases in their areas. But as a common practice, they gave punishments to evil-doers after ascertaining truth by means of ordeals.

Section xxi Beneficial Nature of Administration

Glory and prosperity of the kingdom and happiness and contentment of the people depended to a very large extent on the personality of the king, his policies and actions. Generally, speaking, it was the close bonds of affinity between the king and his people which helped create an atmosphere of goodwill and happiness; otherwise the king would not justify his position. Although this was generally the ideal which many kings followed, there were at certain times a reversal of the ideal and the ages could not be simply golden. But, normally, with the personal exertion of talented rulers, the people felt very much secured, happy and contented. The activities of such kings were shaped by the rules of 'rājadharmas' to which they paid credence. The king could receive his share of the taxes paid by the people, only when he made it a point to do his functions and duties in the most satisfactory manner. The Shāntiparva says that the people entered into an agreement with Manu, their first king. The agreement was meant to overcome Manu's reluctance to rule and only stipulated for the subjects payment of the royal dues and their granting the king immunity from their own sins. Reluctance on the part of the first king

was as to how far he would be able enough to fulfil his obligations towards his people. According to the Arthashastra¹⁹⁰ there is an implied contract between the king and his subject. The implication of the contract is stated to be that the king was spirutually responsible for misgovernaent while he was entitled to his usual one-sixth share, even from hermits dwelling in the forest.

It may be apt here to refer to the questions put by the epic hero Śrī Rāma¹⁹¹ regarding the true test of a king's goodrule. He put a few questions to Bharata to ascertain whether his rule was ideal or not. They were, "Are the people attached to you, the king, the state assembly? Are they attached to your work? Are they prepared to lay down their lives for them? Answers to these questions may well indicate good administration.

Another instance from the Mahābhārata¹⁹² may be given to lend support to the nature of rule by a good king. In a conversation between Bhīma and Yudhistira, the royal sage, Bhīma goes on to say, "why should the people submit to one man except for his divine quality." "The king's divine nature is explicitly declared to be the basis of his rule over his subjects'. The people respected the king and obeyed his authority by virtue of his divine qualities.

As a result of good training and imparting the habit of adhering to 'dharma', the rule of many of the kings of the Bādāmi Chālukyas was beneficial to the people. The king no doubt exercised all authority by himself. But he could never be a despot. His powers were limited by conventions and the 'dharma' to which he had to adhere. Hsuen-Tsang in his itinerary gives a graphic account of the rule of the Chālukya kings, the political conditions and nature of the people. His account shows that he was impressed by the power and greatness of Pulakēśi whom he describes in the following glowing terms: "He is of the race of Kshatriyas. His name is Pulakēśi. His ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions..... the state maintains a body of brave champions to the number of several hundreds. Whenever there is a march, these warriors march in front to the sound of the drum. Besides they intoxicate many fierce elephants..... no enemy can dare stand before them in battle. The king, proud in the possession of these men and elephants, treats with contempt the neighbouring Kingdoms". The Chinese Pilgrim, further describes the heroic temperament of the Kannada people of that period.¹⁹³ "The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge....

When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds.....*194.

[Appendices on Royalties, Crest, Capital city visitors etc. at the end of the thesis]

REFERENCES AND NOTES

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2. Ibid; 306-308. Ep. Glossary; 185.
3. I.A. vii; No. xi; 151.
4. I.A. xix; 7. E.H.D; 207.
5. I.A. vi; No. xxviii; 75.
6. D.C.Sircar: Ind. Ep. Glossary; 34.
7. History of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi in outline - K.R.I., Dharwar, 1960, 7-11.
8. M.L.Rao and H.S.P. Kar. Arasu; 52.
9. E.H.D; Pts. i-iv; 219-220.
10. Pattadakal Inscriptions. I.A. x; 162; 166-67.
11. E.I. xiv; 138.
12. Dr.A.L.Basham; Aspects of Anc. Ind. Culture; 12-13.
13. Ibid; 14.
14. Ibid; 20.
15. Ibid; 22.
16. Kautilya: Arthashastra, Tr. by Kriष्na Bhat; 63.
17. Tributary Kings or rajas, Maharajas, Samantas and Mahāsāmantas were subordinate rulers.
18. U.N.Ghoshal: A History of Indian Political Theories; 201-204.
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R.S.Sharma: Aspects of Political ideas and institutions in Anc. India; 64.
19. G.Radhakrishnan: History of East, and Western Philosophy, I;57.

20. Manu, vii; 18.
21. T.V.Mahalingam: South Indian Polity.
22. B.A.Saleatore: Anc. Ind. Political thought and Institutions; 299-313.
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24. Ibid; Ch. v.
25. Ibid; Ch. vi
26. Aspects of Anc. Indian Culture, 14-20.
27. P.V.Kane: History of Dharmasastra, iii.
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28. U.V.Ghoshal: History of Indian Political ideas; 87 and 90.

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29. Dr.C.M.Morson: Kadambakula; 259.
Fleet: Jour. Bom. Brit. R.A.S. ix; 253.
E.C. iv. H.S. 18.
30. 'Shadgunya' according to Kautilya and Kamandaka means, possession of the following virtues:-
'Sandhi Vighraha yana asana dvaidibhavan samasrayah'
i.e. six qualities of diplomacy (U.N.Ghoshal: History of Indian Political theories; 502-06.
31. Dana, bheda, dana and danda are the four means of winning the enemy.
32. P.V.Kane: History of Dharmasastra, iii.
33. Jour. Bom. Br. R.A.S; iii. no. xl; 203.
34. I.A. vii; 161.
35. R.S.Panchamukhi: Karnatakada Itihasa; 169.

- 36-37. In the Mahakuta Pillar inscription Mangalesa is described as follows:
 "Mantrachāra dūtasiddhi Vighrahassthana Pramana Parāgnigrahana mandala Yātra durga vidhana janapada pauramanya vibhaga kushalaha". (I.A.xix, 7).
 S.H.D. Pts. i-iv; 211.
38. I.A. vi; 363.
39. E.I. vi; 4-6.
40. Ibid; pp.1-12.
41. I.A. viii; 22-23. E.I. v; 200.
42. S.H.D.; 234.
43. Altekar: State and Govt. in Anc. India;
- 43-a. N.L.Das and R.S.P; Kar. Arasu; 51-52.
44. I.A. x; 59.
45. U.N.Ghoshal: Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other Essays; 105.
46. I.A. viii.
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50. I.A. vii; 163. I.A. viii; 44.
51. K.T.Panchazukhi: Kar. Itihasa; 198.
52. K.E.Sharma: Aspects of Political ideas and Institutions in Anc. India, 286.
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54. I.A. xix; 303.
55. I.A. vi; 72.
56. Jour. Bom. Br. R.A.S; xvi; 1. S.I. viii; 229.

57. N.L.Rao and R.S.P. Kar. Arasu; 46.
58. I.A. xix; 147. R.S.Panchamukhi; Kar. Itihasa.
- 58-a. I.A. ix; 125.
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60. I.A. viii; 23. E.I. v; 200. E.H.D. 229.
61. D.G.Sircar: Ind. Epi. Gloss., 228. E.H.D. Pt. 1-iv; 226.
62. I.A. vii; 106.
63. Dr.Fleet comments, "As regards its ancient name - 'Pattada' means, 'of the regal fillet' or turban i.e. as we should say 'of the crown' or of the anointing (of the king) i.e. as we should say 'of the coronation'. 'Holal' or 'holalu' means a city. Pattadakal had its ancient name as Kisuvelal. Holal or holalu means a city. "In Kisuvelal, the first two syllables may be 'Kisu', a ruby. Kisuvelal means therefore, 'the hamlet of rubies'. In modern usage, Pattadakal is probably not an abbreviation of Kisuvelal, but 'Kallu', a stone, which enters into the names of so many villages in the canarese country. Then it means 'the stone of the anointing or coronation". (Archaeological remains of Pattadakal; 28). Although there are no archaeological remains relating to coronation at the spot, we may infer from the connotation of the word, Pattadakal that it was the seat of anointing kings.
64. A.M.Annigeri: Pattadakallu gudigalu, K.B.I. 1960.
65. Altekar: State and Govt. in Anc. India;
66. E.H.D. Pts. 1-iv; 213-14.
67. Ibid; 214-220.
68. A.S.Sharma: Aspects of Political ideas and institutions in Anc. Ind., 134; 270.
69. I.A. x; 162. Pattadakal Inscriptions; 166.
70. E.H.D. Pts. 1-iv; 208.
71. Ibid; 208.

72. H.L.Rao and R.S.P: Kar. Arasu. 64.
73. The classical Age, 111; 227-250.
74. E.H.D. p. 224.
75. Ibid; p. 233.
- 75-a. Dr.P.S.Desai: Banawesvara and His times; 6.
76. U.S.Choshal: Article on Vedic ceremonies and their Constitutional significance in Indian Histeriography and other Essays.
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78. I.A. xix; 7.
79. I.A. Vol. viii; 10.
80. E.I. x; 100.
81. H.S.P.: Kar. Jussu. Vol. 11; 111.
82. I.A. Vol. v; 58.
83. And. Ant. vii; 161.
84. I.A. xix; 7.
85. I.A. x; 59.
86. I.A. vi; 72.
87. Jour. Bom. A.A.S. x; 348.
88. I.A. vi; 73.
89. I.A. vii; 241.
90. E.I. xiv; 144.
91. E.I. x; 145.
92. I.A. xix; 303.
93. E.I. v; 7.
94. E.I. 111; 30.
95. I.A. vii; 106.

96. I.A. vii; 43.
97. E.I. 111; 30.
98. I.A. xiv; p.330
99. N.L.Rao and R.S.P: Kar.Arasu, 65.
100. I.A. viii; 44.
101. E.I. xxxii; pp. 295-97.
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102. Jour. B.R.A.S. xvi; 227; 238.
103. Ibid, 225; 235.
104. I.A. vii. 163.
105. I.A. vii. 217.
106. I.A. vi, 75.
107. E.I. ix; 99.
108. I.A. Vol. xix, 146.
109. E.I. xxi; 24.
110. I.A. vi; 68.
111. E.I. xxv; 289.
112. Corpus, Ins. Ind. iv, Part I. No. 29
113. E.I. xix, 62.
114. E.I. xxv; 89.
115. I.A. vii; 112.
116. I.A. xxxx, 40.
117. Jour. Bom. B.R.A.S; xvi; 231; 242.
118. MER 1915-16.No. 7.
119. I.A. vii; 112.
- 119-a. I.A. x; 102.

120. I.A. ix; 130.
121. Jour. Bom. B.A.R.S. xvi; 5.
122. R.S.P; Kar. Itihasa, 223.
123. MER. 1924 No. 364.
124. E.I. xxxii; vii.
125. Morum Plates: (Appendix 'G')
126. E.I. x; 146.
127. E.I. xxxiii; 311
128. E.I. xxvi; 232.
129. I.A. Vol. x; 164; 166-67.
- 129-a. E.I. xxx, pt. 1, 12-17.
Madras Arch. Rep.
130. A.I.R., 1960-61; 406.
131. I.A. vii; 106.
132. Kar. Insc. I, 7 ff.
133. The term 'Akshapatalika' denotes a department of records and accounts. The officer in charge of this department may be akshapatālādhikṛita or akshapatālādhyaṁkṣa or akshapatalika:
The term akshapatala stands for accounts office according to Stein and records office according to Bühler: Ind. E.P. Glossary, 14.
134. P.V.Kane: History of Dharmasastra, Vol. iii.
Kautilya's Arthasastra: Tr. by Krishna Bhat, 30.
135. Some of the qualities expected of them (ministers) may be mentioned here. They were loyalty to the king and the country, disinterestedness in discharging their functions, countenance, courage, magnanimity of temper, generosity, keen solicitude for learning, augmenting material and spiritual needs of the people, profounding of religious zeal and bravery. They were also to be native born, belong to a high family, influential, well-trained in arts,

far-sightedness, wise and bold. They were also to possess a strong memory, eloquence, skill, intelligence enthusiasm, dignity and endurance. Further, they were to be pure in character, devoted, strong and healthy and free from procastination and fickle mindedness. They were also to be free from hatred and enmity and affectionate towards the people. Finally they were, to be "capable of giving decisive opinion regarding those works about which he (the king) seeks for advice".
 Kautilya's Arthasāstra Tr. by Krishna Bhat, page 33;
 Kautilya Arthasāstra, Book I, Ch. iii.
 S.I.xvi; 316-319, Jour. Bom. Br. A.A.S; ix; 284.

136. H.L.Charma: Aspects of Political ideas and institutions in Ancient India; 202.
137. G.M.Moraes: Kadamba kula - S.I. xv; 75.
 According to a later Kadamba record, 'king Sivachitta is said to have made a grant with the consent of his Prime Minister and Councillors'. Another instance of the above may be found when the king set up an agrahara at the request of the queen which was later conveyed to the ministers; ministers have said to have approved of the propriety of the king's act.
 Jour. Bom. Br. S.A.S. ix; 284.
138. R.Gopalan: The Pallavas of Kanchi. S.I.I. iv; 135.
139. M.V.Krishna Rao: The Gangas of Talakad; 132.
140. D.C.Ganguly: The Eastern Chālukyas, Ch. viii; 161;
 Altekar: Rastrakutas and their times; 160.
141. The Classical Age; 111; 349-352.
142. I.A. xv; 221.
143. I.A. x; 277.
144. Kautilya's Arthasastra: Tr. by Krishna Bhat, pp-50.53.
145. Even certain Chief families had more than 2 to 3 ministers. For instance, the Śilharas who ruled in a slightly later period had a minister in addition to a Sandhivigrahaika. If a small chieftancy like that of the Śilharas had the need and could afford to have more than one foreign minister, it is certainly not improbable that a big kingdom as that of the Chalukyas of Badami could have had a group of ministers also.

146. Ind. EP. Glossary.
147. Arthasastra, Book I.
148. Indian EP. Glossary.
149. U.N.Ghoshal: History of Indian Political ideas,
150. R.S.Sharma: Aspects of Political ideas and Institutions; 238-39.
151. I.A. viii; 286-9.
152. E.I. ix; 99.
E.H.D. 235-6.
153. MHR, 1915-16, No. 7.
E.I. xxi; 24.
154. I.A. vi; No. xxix
I.A. vii; No. xlviii
155. I.A. vii; 300
156. I.A. viii; No. lix; 287.
157. I.A. ix; lxxviii; 124.
158. I.A. viii; 23. p.1. v; 200.
159. Ind. EPi. Glossary.
160. I.A. vii; 106.
161. E.I. xiv; 188.
162. E.I. xiv; 188
163. G.I.I. 3; Lekhaka meant a writer. It is a technical term to denote one who wrote a record on a copper plate, or stone slab to facilitate its correct engraving by an artisan. So he was expected to be well versed in all languages and lipis and in revenue and expenditure. This office sometimes, was attached to that of the Sanchivigrahi.
164. I.A. vol. x; p. 165, no. Cl.
165. R.S.Sharma: Aspects of Ind. Pol. ideas and Instus. in Anc. India; 211.
166. Ibid; 303.

167. I.A. xix, no. 6
168. MER of 1920, no. 343
169. EHD, 236.
170. E.I. ix, 99.
171. S.I.I. ix, pt. I, no. 47, 26.
172. Commenting on this inscription.
 Dr.K.B.Kathak says "It seems to me that we have four generations of writers mentioned in the foregoing grants viz., Sri Rama Niravadya, Anivarita and Dhananjaya Punyavallabha was evidently a family name. Niravadya seems to have been a biruda, originally of king Vijayaditya and Anivarita of his son, Vikramaditya II. In due course Niravadya became the name of the writer of Vijayaditya's grants and Anivarita of his son who wrote the Kanchei inscription of Vikramaditya II. The latter was apparently engaged not long after the accession of Vikramaditya who seems to have conquered the Pallava capital soon after his coronation. The name Niravadya, Srisad Anivarita, Punyavallabha has probably explained as the illustrious Anivarita Punyavallabha (son of) Niravadya, Anivarita's son was apparently Dhananjaya who in the earlier Kendur inscription calls himself as Dhananjaya Punyavallabha, but prefixes the name of his father in the later Vakkaleri plates" (Mayagadh plates of Vijayaditya-E.I. x p. 14-17).
 An inscription of Anna II, or Vijayaditya of the Eastern Chalukya line, although of a later date, speaks of a head of the Srikarana or writing department of the Suvarnabhandagara or treasury of gold (no. cxx.vi. I.A. vol. xi, 91).
173. E.I. 21, E.H.D. 236.
174. Ibid, 236.
175. E.I. x, 146.
176. S.I.I. i, 147.
 E.I. iii, 360.
177. E.I. ix, 202.
178. I.A. viii; 23.
 E.I. v, 200.
179. I.A. vii.

180. I.A. vol. x, 165.
181. N.L.Rao: Kar.Arasu, 54 (foot note 1).
182. Ibid; 55.
183. Chapter II of the thesis.
184. U.N.Ghoshal: Ind. Historiography and other Essays; 110. P.S.Sharma: Aspects of Ind. Pol. ideas and Instus. in Anc. India, 18, 55.
185. I.A. vii; 163.
I.A. viii; 44.
186. I.A. vi; 44-45.
187. Chandraditya: Dr.Fleet is of the opinion that Chandraditya might have reigned. But it is doubtful. It has been conjectured that Vijayabhatarika continued after her husband's death as regent, in all probability, during the child-hood of a son. The seal in Nerurand Kochre grants give justification to the conjecture. If Chandraditya had been still alive at the time of the issue of the two grants, he would not have been described merely as the elder brother of Vikramaditya I. Likewise, if Vikramaditya I was on the throne at the time of making the two grants, then his name and not that of Chandraditya would certainly have been engraved on the seal of the present grant.
188. RS.P: Kar. Inses. 221.
189. I.A. viii; 44.
- 189-a. EHD, 1-1v; 235.
190. Tr. by Krishnabhat.
191. Bhavans Journal, May 1963, page 17.
192. V.N. Ghoshal: Indian Historiography and other Essays, 117.
193. I.A. Vol. vii; p. 290-91.
194. Thomas Watters on Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, ii; 239-40.
Fleet: Dyn. of Kan. Bom. Pres. 24-25.

CHAPTER III

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF THE CHALUKYA EMPIRE AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION

The Chālukyas of Rādāmi ruled over an extensive dominion which lay within the three seas. The relevant portion of the record of indicating this fact reads "tri-saṁudra - Madhyavartī - Bhuvana - Maṇḍaladhīśvar"¹. It is evident therefore that the Chālukyas ruled over the country bounded by the eastern, western and southern seas². This fact is further supported by the inscriptions of the eastern Chālukya Kings also which refer to the land between the Narmada and the Setu as the southern Chakravartī Kṣhetra³.

From the find spots of the several inscriptions also, belonging to the Chālukya kings, it may be concluded that their empire was quite extensive in size. Their inscriptions are available in the regions of the Lāta, Andhra, Konkan, Vīḍarbha, Satara and Poona. We have already pointed out that the Chālukyas inherited the kingdom of the Kādambas which comprised of four big territorial units, and they subsequently expanded the dominions over the whole of the western part of the Deccan.

Section (i) Growth of the Empire and formation of territorial divisions under the control of the Chālukya kings

In the early period of the rise of Chālukya power in the Pāṇḍya, Vātāpi or Bādāmi and its surrounding regions formed the very kingdom itself. But when the Chālukya kings inaugurated a policy of conquest and expansion of their kingdom with the object of establishing their supremacy, such of the areas as were newly conquered had to be brought under a satisfactory system of administration. The authority of the central government had to be decentralised. The policy of expansion necessarily involved wars, alliances respecting and recognising the status of rulers on the mode of their accepting the central authority. It may be apt here to cite the observation of Dr. P. V. Mahalingam who says "if the government was to be effective and its authority habitually obeyed by the subjects in different parts of the empire, it had necessarily to be decentralised to a large extent, giving large scope for their exercise of power by their local administrative units. The principle of decentralisation was achieved by the Chālukya Kings as indicated in their relations which they maintained with their several territorial divisions, governors^{of} of provinces, feudatory rulers and independent allies.

It was Kirtivarma Ist who ruled from A.D. 566-67 to A.D. 597-98 that conquered Āluka and Vaijayanthi, Kadamba kingdom, Mauryas of Konkan, Island of Rāvati and other ruling dynasties, referred to in their Mahākūta inscriptions.

Further, the military achievements of Pulakēśi II as described in the Aihole inscription⁵, had ~~for~~ reaching effects over the expansion of the Chālukya Empire and formation of new territorial divisions comprising several parts of the Deccan. Pulakēśi acquired sovereignty of the three Mahārāshtrakas comprising 990000 villages. The relevant portion of the Aihole Inscription reads as follows. "Mahārāstra Kanaṁ - navaṇavati - sahastra - Grama - Bhājāṁ - Trayanaṁ - Gribhināṁ⁶." This term also finds mention in literary records of foreign travellers. According to the account of Hiuen - Tsang, Pulakēśi II did rule over a region, called by him in his writings as 'Mahārāstra'⁷. Referring to this term, Beal in his Life of Hiuen - Tsang 'says, 'From this (Kong kona pura) going to north-west we pass through a great forest which is infested with savage animals and desert. At 2400 or 2500 li we come to the kingdom of Mahārāstra"⁸. This country he tells us was 6000 li in circuit and its capital which had a large river on its west side was about 30 li in circuit". The inhabitants

were proud and war like". The other powers⁹ that ^{Pulakesi} ~~publicans~~ conquered were the ^dSenrakas, Gangas. Alukas, Mauryas of Puri, the ^dLatas, Malavas and Gurjaras. Pulakesi also extended his ^hnorthern frontiers upto the province of ^veva. The Kosalas and the Kalingas who were under the rule of the Kongadu and the Bithas accepted Chalukya supremacy. Pulakesi's campaigns in the eastern regions was also a great success. He also defeated the Pallava king Mahendravarman I and the rulers of the Chola, Pandya and Kerala countries. The empire was at its highest watermark of glory in the reign of Pulakesi II. Even the successors of Pulakesi not only maintained intact all the regions of their ancestral dominions, although, however, ^{for} a set back for a short period, from A.D. 642 to A.D. 655, but more responsible for further ^{Expansion} ^{the} supervision of ^{the} Chalukya dominions.

An epigraph of Vinayaditya¹⁰ dated A.D. 694, states that he brought the Pallavas, Cholas, Keralas, Nabhayas, Vilas and Malavas, Cholas and the Pandyas and others into ^{Servitude} servitude, "equally with the Alu^kas, Gangas and others of old standing". This portion of the epigraph evidently indicates that the Pallavas, Cholas and Keralas were subdued by Vinayaditya and paid certain sums of tribute only. They did not form the ^m ~~naselaps~~ into feudatory ^{Chieftancies} ^{Alupas} Chieftancies as the Alupas or Gangas did become.

In the reign of Vikramaditya II a formidable invasion of the Jajikas or Arabs¹¹ was repelled by the Chālukya feudatory in the northern regions. He was Avani Janā^hdraya Pulakēśi, the younger brother and successor of Jaya^hdraya Mangalarāja. For having faced the grave situation of a foreign invasion, the Chālukya emperor conferred on Avani Janā^hdraya Pulakēśi the title of "Dakṣiṇā Pāṭha Svadhārāṇa and Anivāritaka - Nivartayitri." A few years after the rule of Kirtivarma II the Lata region was conquered by the Rāstrakūṭa, Dantidurga. AvaniJanā^hdraya Pulakēśi is credited to have achieved a few other victories for the imperial family.

By the time Kirtivarma II could succeed to the throne the Chālukya kingdom remained intact with all the territorial and administrative divisions which comprised the kingdom since the time of Kirtivarma I. Kirtivarma II too made some conquests^{s+s} and added a few more regions^s to the kingdom.

(ii) The Extent of the Chālukya Dominions: as indicated by Land records

The Chālukya kings have left a very large number of land records. They indicate the regions over which the Kings exercised their authority. At the height of political supremacy and glory the dominions extended ~~for~~

from Narsari or the Tapi river and the Narmada in the North, the Pallava dominions in the South, the sea of Arabia in the West, and Marasrapet taluka in the Guntur district and Darsi, in Nellore district¹². In the reign of Pulakesi II and Kirtivarma II, the empire extended still further i.e. from Gujarat to Mysore and Nellore regions including parts of Poona and Ahmednagar.

According to a few scholars, Guddappa was not included in the Chalukya territories and that it was between the Chola and the Pandya kingdoms.

Though there is no clear proof to say that the Chalukya kings did not hold authority over the Guddappa region in the periods of earlier kings, we come across a few inscriptions in the time of Vikramaditya IV, at least to indicate that he held sway over this region. For instance, the Tippalur grant of Vikramaditya IV¹³ 143 registers a gift of land of the village of Maratūra. This village is located in the Kamalapuram taluk of the Guddappa district. So we may conclude that the Andhra country comprising Kurnool and Guddappa districts were included in the dominions of the Chalukyas, the latter district at least for some time in their history.

PULAKESI I

It is a well-known event that it was Pulakesi I who built the city of Vatapi or Padmi, the capital of

the empire. He made two grants on this occasion. One of the copper plate grants refers to construction of a Chaityālaya and donation of land to it in Kuhundi viśhaya¹⁴ (in the city of Alakṭāka). Kuhundi viśhaya is evidently near Konkan region. Pulakēśi I held sway over this region even in the early years of the growth of the empire.

KIRTIVARMA I

Land records of Kirtivarma I are found at Badami, and Mahakuta. Although campaigns as described in the inscriptions mentioned above are many, they are conventional in nature. But the fact remains clear that he established¹⁵ ^{Peace} ~~peace~~ and tranquillity throughout the large kingdom.

MANGALĒśA

Mangalēśa's grants have been made in Kundivataka viśhaya¹⁶ in the Konkan region. This region may be identified with the village of Kunthi in Sangamesvar Taluk of the Ratnagiri district. Not only the dominion extended as far as the banks of the river ^hBagirathi. This point is borne out by the Mangalēśa's other grant which refers to erection of a pillar of victory on the banks of the river ^hBagirathi. Mangalēśa gave additional grants of the villages of Kīśuvolal, Kēndur, Mānya, Mandigrasa, Vhrīhīraka Sriyambaka and other villages¹⁷.

PULAKESI II

The land grants of Pulakēsi II are many and varied. They indicate that his reign witnessed expansion of the Kingdom far and wide. The Goa copper plate¹⁸ shows that his dominions included Kārellika which is identified with the village of Kārle in Khētabara or Khēd taluk of the modern Ratnagiri district. That Pulakēsi held sway over the Andhra region is evidenced by the Haiderabad copper plate which mentions the gift of a village of Nākarppi¹⁹. Pulakēsi also exercised authority as far as the river Mahānadi which is indicated by the Kāṇḍaligrāma copper plate. That Surat region formed a part of Pulakēsi's dominions is clear from a copper plate grant of Vijayavarma son of Buddhavarma, grandson of Jayasinhavarma, who gave a grant of a village of Pariya²⁰. This fact is also testified by the Kaira copper plate. Pulakēsi's rule over Revatīdvīpa is testified by the Goa copper plate. Revatī has been identified with modern Rēdi near Vengurla in the Ratnagiri district²¹. North Konkan also formed a part of dominions of Pulakēsi as is clear from the Sanjan plates. According to the Sanjan plates, Buddhavarma, brother of Pulakēsi encamped at Pinukagrāma^{and} while camping, Pulakēsi appears to have given away the village of Matridinne located in Avarānta. Avarānta has been identified with Aparānta²² in north Konkan and the

village of Pinuka with penna of Kulab district²³. Another grant testified² to the rule of Pulakesi over Kumbhadinagara where the king is said to have made a gift of a village of Lohaganiavata in the territorial division of Mallagrama. The grant of the village of Alindatirtha situated in Srihaga ^{nulaga} vishaya on the southern bank of the river Khima shows that Pulakesi's empire extended as far as the banks of the river Khima. This point is clear from a grant issued by Kabja Vishnuvardhana, brother of Pulakesi II while he was the Yuvaraja and ruled at Kurumarathi, as his headquarters²⁴. Alandtirha has been identified with Alandah, 35 miles to the north of Patana. Another donation of land by Yuvaraja Vishnu Vardhana is Karmarastra²⁵ ^{which} also shows extension of Chalukya authority as far as the Guntur district where the village is situated in the Narasaraopet Taluk. Karmarastra has been identified with Kondavidu. Grants of land of the King ^{nanda} Renanda, the maternal uncle of Pulakesi II, located on the banks of the river Charu chiana show that the Chalukya authority extended over Averotika Vishaya. This fact is borne out by the undated Chiplun plates²⁶. A grant of Satyasraya Tribhuvanaśraya Nagavallabha, son of Jayasimhavarma bestowing the village of Shale in Goparashtra vishaya indicated³ clearly the rule of Pulakesi over the region. Shale has been identified with the present Khella in Taralha²⁷ district. This

fact is evidenced by the Nirpan copper plate of Dharaśraya son of Pulakēśi II. Another inscription of Pulakēśi's reign²⁸ refers to remission of taxes in the Nana territory which shows his sovereignty over the region.

ABHINAVADITYA

According to a grant of Abhinavāditya, grandson of Pulakēśi II, a gift of a village was made, in the ^{ngi/s}Uchchastrīnga vishaya²⁹. This record shows that Chālukya authority had extended to this region.

VIKRAMADITYA I

Land records of the reign of Vikramāditya I have been found in Kurnool, Savantavadi, Ratnagiri and Nellur areas. They indicate that he continued to exercise authority after his accession in A.D. 655, over the ancestral territorial divisions. For instance, the Kurnool copper plate refers to a gift in Malavadi vishaya³⁰. Evidently this region was situated between Bellary and Madakaira. According to the Bagumra inscription, Vikramāditya I gave a gift of the village of Balasa in the Trēyanahara vishaya³¹. This region refers to modern Bardoli area. The king's feudatory, Kikumba Jayasakti made a grant of a village in Kundala^{Kamala} vishaya. The Nerur copper plates³² refers to a grant of a village in Tarakagahara in the Savantavadi state. A few other

records of Vikramāditya like the Talamaūchi copper plate³³ indicate his authority over the Andhra region. Reference to a grant of Asatti village in Kandavalavihara vishaya³⁴ shows extension of Chālukya dominions as far as Nausarika. This is evidenced by the Nausari copper plate.

VINAYADITYA

The records of Vinayāditya are found in ^{Bellary} Raichur, Anantapur, Kurnool, Koppal, Phalton and other areas. These records mention gift of land which evidently shows that Vinayāditya held sway over the regions where the gifts of land were made. One of the land grant is significant in that it proves the expansion of the Chālukya dominions, as far as Poona. This grant mentions a village called Vira which is situated between Ralahattana and Harinayiga on the north bank of the river Nira in the (Sakina/labhoga in Palayatthana³⁵ vishaya. Palayatthana is identified with modern Phalton. It was an important town of the lower Nira valley and the capital of the state of the same name. Other villages mentioned in the grant have been identified as follows:

Bhadali with the present Bhadrelu, 5 miles south-west of Phalton; Veera with Veer, one mile to the north of the river Nira; ^{Harinayiga} Para-nahika with paranichi and

Harināyiga with modern harani, 2-3 miles from Veera³⁶. In the time of Vinayāditya, extension of Chālukya power over the Chōlika viśhaya³⁷ to the south of the river Cauvery is borne out by the Gadval plates. Other territorial divisions like Kundali^{Kamala} viśhaya³⁸, Kanna viśhaya³⁹, Tōramara viśhaya⁴⁰, Tālitahara viśhaya⁴¹, Edevolal viśhaya⁴² continued to be under his rule

VIJAYADITYA

Vijayāditya also ruled over large tracts of land as is evidenced by his inscriptions. His records are also available in Anantapur and Cuddapah districts. For instance a stone inscription from Nitturgudipadu⁴³ records the grant of land. Another copper plate grant of Vijayāditya is also found in Mayalūr in Kurnool district.

VIKRAMADITYA II

Besides ruling over the ancestral possessions, Vikramāditya II held sway over the Cuddapah region also. This is clear from his record from Pippa^{lu}du⁴⁴ in the Kēmalapuram Taluka of Cuddapah district. The record is dated in the first year of his reign. The purpose of the grant is to register the gift of the Pannasa income of the village of Maraluraⁿ by Vambulaⁿ to the Isvara temple at Vengiparaⁿ. At the time of making this record

it is stated that Formukarāma was in charge of the country ruled by the Banas and he must have been the feudatory of Vikramāditya II.

KIRTIVARMA II

Of Kirtivarma II, we get references in inscriptions from Adur, Velvola, Vokkaleri and Peddapetta. We may infer from these records that Kishvarma's dominions ^{were} still a large one comprising the Velvola vishaya, Bhimarathi region. Bhandaragavittige, Panung^a Vishaya, Nelavodige, Karivode Vishaya, Southern part of Mysore and Mrigathani Kahara Vishaya. The Adur inscription indicates that a certain Sinda chief was ruling Pandipura as the feudatory of Kirtivarma II. He also gave another grant of a village in Gudivādi Vishaya to a learned person which fact shows that the regions namedy, Kolahapur ^{were} was under the rule of Kirtivarma I. The geographical territories which formed the Chālukya dominions as indicated by the several land records described above happened to be the administrative units of the Empire also.

(iii) Vishaya, Nādu, Nastra and Mandala

The territorial and administrative divisions of the Chālukya dominions were designated as vishaya, nādu, nastra and Mandala. Inscriptions make mention of these names, for instance for ^{the} vishayas of the Island of Tēvati,

the Sēndraka vishaya, Trēyanahara vishaya and others have been mentioned in the inscriptions⁴⁴. The terms 'nādu' and 'bhōga' appear in a few cases⁴⁵. The term 'raṣṭra' is used in regard to Goparaṣṭra territory⁴⁶. The above terms referred to bigger units of the Chālukya dominions. We come across names of about twenty vishayas and two of raṣṭra, in the inscriptions. We may show them as follows:

1. Chālukya vishaya
2. Kanna vishaya
3. Trēyanahara vishaya
4. Iridige vishaya
5. Talitatahara vishaya
6. Karivode vishaya
7. Konkana vishaya
8. Kētahara vishaya
9. Kārmaneya vishaya
10. Sēndraka vishaya
11. Kundalikāmala vishaya
12. Yedevolal bhōga (vishaya)
13. Panungal vishaya
14. Belvola vishaya
15. Chipraluna vishaya
16. Nalavadi vishaya
17. Uechseringa vishaya
18. Vanganūr vishaya
19. Bavihara vishaya
20. Turamara vishaya
21. Mrigathanikahāra vishaya

A few divisions were also known as Palayatthāna, tarakahāragama, Aparānta, Nāyarkhanda and Jedagūr and Banavāsi. Among these, Banavāsi was a big division and also called as Banavāsi mandala. But the divisions with the suffixes like 'thāna', 'grāma', 'Khēda', evidently denoted the names of smaller divisions.⁴⁷

(iv) Numerical Figures Used as Suffixes of Territorial divisions

A common practice was to use the names of the territorial units along with suffixes of numerical figures. Such references are available in the Chālukya inscriptions. For instance, Belvola and its subdivision Kukanūr are mentioned in one of their records⁴⁸. Banavāsi 12,000 is found mentioned in a record of a king who ruled in the period covered ^{by the then} (Indra by name) and his name is mentioned in a wirkal dated 870 A.D.⁴⁹. Similarly, Karhāta was said to have a numerical suffix like 4000. Pulakesi II is spoken of in the Aihole inscription to have acquired the sovereignty of Mahārāṣṭra comprising 224,000 villages⁵⁰. Likewise, according to the Forab grant, Vinayāditya is stated to have ruled over Nāyarkhanda 70. The relevant terms occurring in the Belgaṇe inscription of Vinayāditya in respect of Nāyarkhanda 70 and Jedagūr reads as 'eradam - nālke' (line 11) indicating that he ruled over two nads - Nāyarkhanda 70 and Jedagūr⁵¹. A spurious grant of Vijayāditya mentions

Vagadige 70⁵² as a division included in Kundichha, 1000
Vishaya.

The exact import of the numerical suffixes of the names of territorial divisions has been still a matter of discussion. For how long and since what date, the territorial divisions used to be spoken of with certain suffixes have also been a matter of debate. However, although, the use of such numerical suffixes came to be widely adopted from the 10th century onwards, it may be inferred, as the instances mentioned above indicate, that the practice was prevailing in the Chālukya territories also.

In this context, it may be apt here to summarise the distinctive opinions given by scholars on the significance and real import of the numerical suffixes, although much has been written on this aspect. Dr. Fleet, Mr. Rice, Dr. Karmarkar and Dr. Srinivas Katti have expressed their view that the suffixes represent the number of villages in that division. Mr. Fleet adds that the numbers may also represent the townships of that division. Mr. Rice also adds that the figures might stand for revenue in gold coins of that particular division. Dr. Karmarkar also takes into consideration the possibility of the suffixes indicating yield or revenue of the division concerned, but expresses a strong doubt

on the ground that no word in the inscription refers to yield or revenue—a view also shared by Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar. He disagrees with the opinion that the figures represent the number of villages in the division and adds that the figures may also represent the fighting forces or even the number of households. Both Dr. Fleet and Mr. Rice are of the opinion that suffixes running to very big figures may be purely conventional or exaggerated descriptions. Dr. G. V. Vaidya also does not agree that the figures stand for the number of villages. But he is of the opinion that they may stand for the produce of land as government's share. But even this view needs corroboration. Again, in respect of Pulakesi II's territory of Mahārāstra as comprising 99,000 villages, Dr. D. C. Sircar has expressed that the suffix is of a doubtful significance. Another view taken about the suffixes is that of Dr. Prannath, who says that the figures may stand for the number of estates. But it is difficult to calculate the number of estates which comprise a 'grāma', which in its turn constitutes the viśaya. Still another opinion regarding the numerical suffixes is that they represent the population ~~(suffixes is that they represent the population)~~ or the number of people of that division. However, even this view cannot be supported by facts.

Dr.T.V.Mahalingam rightly observes that the real meaning of the figures has baffled scholars and that adequate proofs are not available to say that the figures represent either the number of villages or revenue collections in gold coins or the total population of the division⁵³. He cites, for instance Gangavadi, which was said to have 96,000 villages; but the division cannot be expected to have such a large number of villages. If the numbers are taken to mean revenue collections, then, some of the divisions with a low numerical suffix, like 30 or 70 show a very low yield of revenue, which is hardly possible. If the number is taken to represent the total population and granting that the system of ^{Counting} containing of men existed in these times, Dr.T.V. Mahalingam points out that, "one wonders at the large figures as Gangavadi, 96,000 and that the number of people that the figures are likely to show, could not have been static for over ten years or so"⁵⁴. He concludes that nothing definite can be said about the significance of numerical figures in the absence of a definite clue. We may therefore, take the figures to stand for the number of villages as far as smaller divisions (upto 1000) are concerned. In the case of big divisions, the numerical figures may at best indicate the vastness of the territorial division and the extensive size of it.

As far as the smaller divisions of the Chālukya dominions are concerned, the numerical figures may go well with the number of villages borne out by the suffixes. But in the case of 'Maharashtra 990000', the numerical suffix is only indicative of the large size of the division. If ^hMahārāstra which was acquired by Pulakēśi II could have reasonably comprised the Karnatak^a, Konkan and the present ^hMahārāstra areas, then the Vastness of the division is quite self-explanatory and provides a justification for comprising 990000 villages.

(v) VISHAYAS

We have pointed out before that a very common term used to indicate a province in several of the Chālukya inscriptions was 'Vishaya'⁵⁵. This term has been found and used largely as a suffix along with the names of territorial divisions which comprised their extensive empire.

ISLAND OF REVATI AND FOUR VISHAYAS

The four Vishayas around the island of Revati were a territorial division since the time of Virtivarṇa I and Mangalēśa as is evident from the Goa copper plate. However, evidence is not adequate to ascertain which were the actual four vishayas mentioned in the records. It may be surmised that for some time the lāta region was one of the four Vishayas. The island of Revati is identified to be modern 'Redi' near Ratnagiri district.

KHETAHARA VISHAYA

According to the Goa copper plate, Mangalēśa ruled over Khetahara Vishaya. Khetahara is identified with the taluk of Khed in the same district. Yivarāja Śrāsaya Śilāditya son of Bhārasraya Jayasinha Varma brother of Vikramāditya (late Vikramaditya I) was ruling this Vishaya during the reign of Pulakēśi II.

KUHUNDI VISHAYA

A (suprious) record dated Saka 310 (A.D. 411) mentions a gift in the Kuhundi Vishaya and the same as having been ruled by ^{Pulakesh I and} Kirtivarma I. This region may be located to have been a part of the Sēdraka dominions or the ratta Kingdom.

KONKAN VISHAYA

That Buddhavāga was ruling North Konkan may be inferred from Sanjan plates. The Nerur copper plate also mentions this Vishaya, while making a reference to the gift of the village of Kundivātaka. This village is identified to be the village of Kundi in Sangameswar Taluka of the Ratnagiri district. The conquest of Konkan region gave an access to the sea coast to the Chālukya dominions. The territorial division named Avarānta or Aparānta was included in North Konkan.

CHĀLUKYA VISHAYA

The Treyanahara copper plate mentions the Chālukya Vishaya while referring to a gift of land made by Pulakēśi II. This Vishaya is located in the Andhra region comprising Mehaboobnagar district. That this region around Mehaboobnagar was called the Chālukya vishaya and formed part of the Chalukya dominions is testified by the ^{Tam} ~~Tamrenar~~ copper plate also.

AVARETIKA VISHAYA

The Chiplun copper plate mentions Avarētika Vishaya, while referring to a grant by Pulakēśi II.

UCCHAERINGA VISHAYA

The Neelakunda copper plate mentions the Uccaeringa Vishaya while making a reference to a gift of a village by Abhinavāditya.

CHOLIKA VISHAYA

The Gadval plate makes mention of the Cholika Vishaya while referring to a military camp of Vikramāditya I on the southern bank of the river Kaveri during his war with the Pallavas. The Savanūr copper plate also bears testimony to this fact.

NALAVADI VISHAYA

According to the Kurnool copper plate, the Nalavādi Vishaya formed a territorial division since the time of Vikramāditya I. Evidently this Vishaya comprised modern Bellary and Kurnool districts. The Dayyamadinre copper plate of Vikramāditya also mentions the name of this Vishaya while referring to a gift.

DAHIRIKA VISHAYA

Dahirika Vishaya comprising Kandavalahāra is mentioned in the Bausari copper plate while referring

to a grant by Vikramāditya I. This region is around Nausari.

KUNDALIKAMALA VISHAYA

The Sandraka copper plate makes mention of the Kundalikamala vishaya while referring to a gift of land known as Senanaka by Vikramāditya I.

KANNA VISHAYA

The Spurious and undated ^{ai}Hyderabad copper plate mentions the Kanna vishaya while referring to a grant of land by Vikramāditya I. This region is around modern Bijapur District.

BELVOLA VISHAYA

The Kurtaketi copper plate mentions the Belvola Vishaya while referring to a land gift by Vikramāditya I. Belvola Vishaya is evidently modern Gadag, Ron and Navalgund Talukas of Dharwar district. This Vishaya is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Kirtivarma II. The Kendur copper plate of Kirtivarma II also mentions Belvola Vishaya while referring to a gift of land by Kirtivarma II.

According to Annigeri inscription of Kirtivarma II issued in the ^{sixth} year ~~of~~ his reign, Annigeri was a chief town of Belvola 300. Kirtivarma also ruled over a few Places in Belvola vishaya namely, perbasa and Behatta which are identified to be Hebbur, Kusigal, Sulla, Hebbali and Behatta in Dharwar district. The Kendur c p also support this point.

TREYANAHARA VISHAYA

That Vikramaditya I ruled over Treyanahara Vishaya is evident from the Bag^uhara copper plate. Trēyanahara is identified with ten near Bardoli.

PALAYATTHANA VISHAYA

The Jejuri copper plate mentions the Palayatthana Vishaya while referring to a gift of land in ^(sa)timālabhōga by Vinayāditya. This region is around modern Poona and identified with Plalton.

TORAMARA VISHAYA

The Sorab copper plate of saka ^u614 makes mention of the Toramara Vishaya while referring to a military camp in that region by Vinayāditya. This region is also mentioned in the Kondapalli stone inscription of Vijayaditya while referring to a gift of land by Vijayaditya. Toramara Vishaya has been identified with modern Gutti. It is significant to note that the Sorab copper plate of Vinayāditya mentions the name of the māṇḍalika.

EDEVOLAL VISHAYA

Vinayāditya ruled over Edevolal Vishaya as is clear from Harihar copper plate. One Sorab copper plate

also bears testimony to the Sdevolal Vishaya is identified with the North-eastern regions of Banavasi.

IRIDIGE VISHAYA

The Varur copper plate makes mention of Iridige vishaya (in Mod.^{en} Ratnagiri dist. lot of Savantavadi State) while referring to a gift of land by Vijayaditya. Iridige Vishaya is identified to be Ratnagiri district of Konkan in Savantavadi state and included Pashna or Peshin in Ahmadnagar district.

TALITATAHARA VISHAYA

The Sayagadh copper plate of Vijaya^{chitya} ~~Yash~~ saka 625 mentions the Talitatahara vishaya while referring to a gift of land by Vijayaditya.

ALAKUR VISHAYA

The Elapur copper plate mentions Alakur vishaya. This region is around Ellora of Aurangabad district.

DAVINARA VISHAYA

The Dayalūr copper plate mentions Davinara vishaya and incidentally speaks of Pedakal Vishaya while referring to a military victorious camp by Vijayaditya and gift of land by him. The Kotturu stone inscription also mentions pedakal vishaya while referring to a gift

of a village by Vijayāditya. This region is located in the Andhra region.

FUNDAKA VISHAYA

That Vikramāditya II entered the Fundaka Vishaya to give battle to Nandipotavarma, the Pallava ruler is mentioned in the Vakkalari Plates of Kirtivarman II.

CHIPRALUNA VISHAYA

The Chiplun Vishaya or Chipraluna vishaya is mentioned in Narayana copper plate of Vikramāditya II while referring to a gift of land.

VANGANUR VISHAYA

That the Bana King was ruling Vanganur^{or Kotturu} Vishaya as Chalukya ~~tendatary~~ is known from the inscriptions of Vikramāditya II available in Andhra Pradesh. For instance the Kotturu stone inscription.

KARMAHEYAHARA VISHAYA

The Nausari copper plate of A.D. 737 mentions Karmaheyahara Vishaya^{in Gujarat} ~~Badoda~~ State while referring to a gift of land by Vikramāditya II. This region is located around modern Surat. The Surat copper plate supports this point. This inscription mentions a few

villages like Kamreja and ^{m L}Caunbada near Turat, Alluraka near Unclala is also mentioned.

KARIVODE VISHAYA

Karivode Vishaya is mentioned in the Ainuli copper plate of Kirtivarma I while referring to his camp and gift of land by Kirtivarma II. Karivode is identified to be the region near the river Bhemarathi.

PANUNGAL VISHAYA

The Vakkaleri plates mention Panungal vishaya while referring to a gift of land by Kirtivarma II. Panungal vishaya is identified with modern Mangal. The inscription also mentions Bhandaraka ^{gav. Hise} village which is identified as Bhandarakunte on the banks of the river Bhima in the Sholapur district. The ^gBelgama inscription mentions the names of a few places of interest. They are Valligama (Belgama), Balligama = Belligrana, Balipura, Vedavalli or modern Velchalli, Lakkavaler in Mysore, Andugi or Autuge or modern Undaga near Nirilly or Nirilagi.

KUNDICHHA VISHAYA

According to ^{ou}Spurins grant of Vinayaditya containing 3 plates, Vagadige 70 was one of the divisions included in Kundichha 1000 vishaya. ^{Reference}Retree to this

vishaya is made while referring to a gift made by the
king Vin^{ayaditya} to one ^{ke'shava charya} Kelacuchaya, Vinayaditya's authority
had firmly been established as far as the Malapahari
river (North-bank).

PEDAKAL VISHAYA

According to the Pogurehedu copper plate Pedakal
vishaya formed a division of Vinayaditya's dominions.
It could be an administrative unit under ^{vinayaditya} ~~vinayaditya~~,
also

Other inscriptions refer to the Pedakal vishaya
and Rasenanagara which continued in the dominions of
the Chalukya in the reign of Vikramaditya II^(55a).

PUNGANUR VISHAYA

According to Kottur stone inscription, Punganur
vishaya in the Telugu country formed a division of the
Chalukya dominions. It was entrusted to the rule of
Agavanarya.⁵⁵⁽⁶⁾

GOPA RASTRA VISHAYA

According to the Nirpan copper plate Goparashtra^{55(e)}
formed a division in Pulakesi II's dominions. This record
informs us that Jayasarya Thribhuvana^{rya} Nagavarechana
ruled the Goparashtra area.

MRIGATHANIKAHARA VISHAYA

The Pattadakal Pillar inscription mentions Mrigathanikahāra Vishaya while referring to a gift of land by Kirtivarma II to a devotee hailing from the Mrigathanikahāra Vishaya. This region is located on the northern banks of the river Ganges.

The various names of Vishayas indicate the extent of Chālukya dominions. It included the territory as far as Nausari or river Narmada in the North, as far as the sea in the west, the Pallava Kingdom in the south and Guntur and Narasaroopet in Vellore District in the East. A few other divisions of their dominions bear the suffix mandala. For instance, the Lātamandala, Vengimandala and Vanavāsīmandala. Some other divisions bear the suffix 'rastra', bhōga, nal or nād and even dēsa. Karmarastra and Goparastra, Srīnilaya bhōga⁵⁶ and Edevolal bhōga⁵⁷, Nāyarkhanda 70 nal (or nad) and Khetahara dēsa are a few examples. Karmarastra is identified with Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district. This fact is borne out by the Kopparam plates. Goparastra vishaya is identified with a Portion of Nasik district. That Edevolal bhōga which continued as a division in the time of Vinayāditya is situated in the Banavāsi region is known to us from the Harihar copper plate dated saka 616. Nāyarkhanda 70 has been identified with the region comprising modern sorab taluk of Shimoga district.

That Vijayaditya's authority had been established and administrative organisation had been set up in Rāsenapura and the surrounding areas of Ahmadnagar district is clear from an unpublished record found at Morum. (Three Plates are available). The record is on the model of other published grants which were issued from Karhatanagara, Elapura, Kubundinagara, Paktapura, Kisuvolal and Rāsenanagara. The records mention the following places: Cha (bha) Lianki desa, mayurkhandi, Muguli and Jamalgana. Rāsenapura may be identified with Rāsin in Ahmadnagar district of Mahārāstra. Chaliankidesa and Mayurkhandi cannot be identified at the present juncture. Similarly, Pullavedali Mugali or Mauruli ? could be Murli, about 5 miles east of Morum. Jamalagana could be Kesa rajavalaga, about 5 miles south of Morum in Usmanabad district of Mahārāstra. From the above, it is clear that the term 'nagara' was also in use to indicate city and sometimes city headquarters like Karhatanagara, Pulikaranagara, Rāsenanagara⁵⁸ and Vatapi-nagara, respectively. Just as Rāsenanagara is mentioned by the Morum plates, Karhatanagara is mentioned in the Karuva plate while referring to a military camp of Vijayāditya and his gift also. ?

Some of the places in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas cannot be definitely ascertained. For

instance the Yekkeri rock inscription of Pulakesi II mentions the villages and towns like Benira, Dhulipura, Agariyapura and Krishnapura. These places are not traceable on the map today.

A study of the inscriptions of the Chalukyas shows that their dominions comprised of several administrative units designated in a majority of instances as *visayas*. It is worth noting here that even the Kadambas made use of the term 'Visaya' in regard to their divisions. Under the rule of the Kadambas, their dominions were divided into four main divisions - the northern division with Laluvika as capital, eastern regions with Nechangi, western areas with Nanavasi and the southern with tripurvata as capital headquarters. So we may say that the Chalukyas continued the Kadamba traditions and after their fall, the Rashtrakutas became the direct inheritors of what had existed before. The dominions of the Chalukyas, therefore, consisted of territories of feudatories, independent allies and a few subjugated areas also.

(vi) Divisions in Contemporary Kingdoms

A brief description of the divisions and how they were administered under the Pallavas of Kanchi, the contemporaries of the Chalukyas will be helpful to

emphasize the main features. The Pallava dominions extended from the river Krishna in the north to the Kaveri in the south. Their dominions consisted of several units which were called 'vishayas' and 'rastras' in charge of the 'Vishayapati'⁵⁹ and the 'rastrapati' respectively. Further, the Pallava records also show that the territorial officers were sometimes hereditary rulers who paid tribute every year to the Pallava king.

Among the Gangas of Talakad⁶⁰ another contemporary dynasty of the Chālukyas and who subsequently became feudatory rulers of the latter, the term 'nādu', was in vogue and the same was applied to a territorial division. The term 'nādu' evidently was similar to that of 'rastra'.

Similarly, in the empire of Harshavardhana⁶¹ of Kanauj, another contemporary of the Chālukya king, Pulakēśi II, the dominions were divided into provincial units, like, the bhukti or mandala or rastra. A province was further subdivided into 'Vishayas' or districts. The provincial authorities were known as Rajasthānīyas (Viceroys) and district officers as Vishayapatis.

The 'Vishaya' as a territorial unit under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi was a larger unit and rastra constituted a smaller one. Regarding the size of vishaya, there could not be any uniformity throughout the dominions

of Karnāṭaka which ruled from time to time. Variation in their size was inevitable, particularly in the border areas.

The several divisions under the Chalukya kings of Badami, were entrusted to the rule of either governors or feudatories or independent allies. A few inscriptions of the Chalukyas make mention of the term 'Māṇḍalika' or 'Māṇḍalādhipati' whose status was that of a governor or viceroy.

Section II: (1) Administration of Territorial Divisions

The territorial divisions comprising the Chalukya dominions were ruled by -

- (1) Governors
- (2) Feudatory rulers and territories ruled by relatives of the royal house
- (3) Independent allies or branches of the Imperial dynasty

Some of the territorial divisions like Konkan were entrusted to the rule of governors. They were sometimes called as vishayapati also. They were either members of the royal family and were appointed as such on account of confidence, the imperial authority reposed in them. A few of the governors, the Vishayapati's had their headquarters in towns or Adhishthanas where they had their subordinate officers and accountants.

The relation between the king and the governor of an administrative unit was that the latter owed his appointment to the king and ruled the province entrusted to his care on behalf of the king. However, it is not possible to conclude that the whole empire had been divided into provinces and provinces into districts and that these districts and provinces were administered by a group of officers appointed by the centre. The organisation of an administrative division by the king depended on several considerations, namely, the method of having acquired the province, the relation between the former ruler and the king, reasons of strategy - mainly military, particularly in the regions open to hostile relationships and finally, considerations of statesmanship or diplomacy.

(11) Governors of provinces:

One of the Chalukya inscriptions (The British Museum Plates of Pulakesi I) mentions that even as early as the reign of Kanaraga, he had a subordinate in the Sāndraka territory by name, Samiyara of the Rudranila Sāndraka family, who was his governor for the Kubundi district ⁶².

After a successful war with Buddhavarasa son of Shankaragana, Mangalasa killed in battle one svamiraja,

belonging to the Chālukya family and who must have proved disloyal to the imperial house. The Naxur copper plate refers to a grant by Mangalēsa in the Konkan vishaya⁶³.

That Satyasraya - Dhruvarāja - Indravarmān of the Bappura family was ruling in his 28th year, (Saka 332) in A.D. 661, four vishayas in the island of Revati as feudatory or māṇḍalika of Pulakēsi II is known from the Goa copper plate⁶⁴. Out of these four vishayas, the Lata region was also one (after Pulakēsi II's conquest of Gujarat). Even from the time of Kirtivarma I and Mangalēsa, administration of Western parts of the Kingdom near the sea coast had been entrusted to a Chālukya governor.

An inscription of Vikramāditya I's reign from Kurtakoti in the Gadag Taluk states that the king's officer, Lokētinimādi was administering Kurtakunta⁶⁵ i.e. modern Kurtakoti where the inscription is found. This fact is further corroborated by another inscription on a slab set behind the temple of Kalmāśvara⁶⁶ in Kurtakoti, Gadag Taluk. This inscription belongs to Vijayāditya's reign and refers to Lokētinimādi, who was governing Kurtakunta (e). It also makes mention of one Muppina who built a big temple there and gave a gift to it.

Section III: Feudatories

The feudatory chiefs constituted the several rulers who were permitted to continue their rule over their respective territories as a result of conquest or alliances. They were also called as 'mandalika'⁶⁷.

A few feudatories were designated as 'Mahāsantas' also⁶⁸. They were to supervise, control and direct the activities of the feudatory chiefs. Their post was generally, hereditary and implied performance of military functions and fulfilment of certain obligations to the king. It is these officers who were in later times called as 'Mahāmandalēśvaras'. An inscription on the front of the north face of a pillar at the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal refers to a grant of a certain Puṭṭimāniga. Further, it also mentions a 'Mahāsamanta' named Erve⁶⁹. Erve is stated to have issued an edict also regarding the Pillar of the temple. The edict was made to the guild of one thousand nine hundred and sixty-six.

After making the appointment or conferring the dominion to the former ruler either by conquest or alliance, the latter was normally allowed independence in several matters pertaining to internal administration. It is also not improbable that the king employed some of his own officers in such territories, permitted to be ruled by a feudatory in order to serve as a link or

laison between the king and his feudatory chief. Such officers are similar in nature and function to the residents of modern times. Over certain areas, the rule of which was entrusted to close relatives of the king, the latter was generally given a full assurance of the safety and good administration of that administrative division. With regard to feudatory chiefs, the king demanded allegiance to him throughout and also military assistance in times of invasion or trouble, specially in the frontier regions. Protection of the frontier and expulsion of the enemies in case of aggression by the latter, was the main purpose of entrusting the administration of the division to the feudatory chiefs, in whom the central government had supreme confidence.

A brief description of the feudatory chiefs and dynasties of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi is attempted in the foregoing ^{pages} of this Chapter.

(1) The Sēdrakas

The Sēdrakas were an important feudatory of the Chālukyas. Their chiefs were given continuous encouragement by the Chālukya kings. Earlier the Sēdrakas were ruling as the Mahāmandalēśvaras under the Kadambas when the latter's power was at the height of glory. After destruction of the Kadambas, the Sēdrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas and accepted their overlordship and even entered into matrimonial alliance.

The Sēdraka country was a very prominent province, under the rule of Pulakēśi II. The Sēdraka Prince, Sri Vallabha Senānandarāja, was the maternal uncle of Pulakēśi II. So he received special favour from him in return for the substantial help rendered by him in building up Chālukya supremacy. He ruled over south ~~XX~~ Konkan area. This fact is evidenced by the Chiplun⁴⁷ plates which records a grant by the Sēdraka Prince to a Brahmin. In the same manner, the successor of Sri Vallabha Senānandarāja continued in the service of the western Chālukyas and received rewards of grants of certain districts. The Sēdraka contemporaries of Vikramāditya I were Jayasakti and Deva Sakti.

According to the Balgame inscription of Vinayaditya, Maharāja Pōgillī of the Sēdraka family was governing a part of the former dominion as a feudatory. The relevant portion of the inscription reads thus "The illustrious Pōgillī the Sēdraka Mahārāja is administering the Nāyarkhanda district (and) the government of Jedagur, i.e. Nāgarkhanda, Banavāsi and the village of Jedagur." Even the successors of Pōgillī continued as subordinate rulers of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi in about A.D. 685.

The Sēdrakas ruled over Lāta, Malava and Gurjara regions. Their rulers were subordinate kings of the Chālukyas and were similar to the Sindas. They occupied parts of Bombay and Mysore areas. The Sēdraka Vishaya is found mentioned in Bennur plates containing the Kadamba grant of the fifth century A.D. They ruled Coorg which is evident from the Mēḡḡara plates where in one of the witnesses is a Sēdraka.

The Adur inscription⁷³ (undated) of Kīrtivarma II mentions a gift made to a Jinendra temple. Apart from the details of the inscription describing the gift made, what is relevant here is that it mentions the name of Kīrtivarma and states that when the rulers of the Sindas were administering Gangī Pāndivum, Paramēśvara (or the King) gave directions to one Madhavati Arasa

and allowed gift of land to one Prabhāchandra. The temple of Jinendra referred to in the inscription was in all probability at Gange Pandivum or Adur. Madhavatti arasa must have been a Sēdraka feudatory on account of his having the suffix 'arasa' normally borne by the Sēdrakas.

Another Sēdraka ruler associated Madhavatti arasa described above was Nāgasakti. Nāgasakti was the contemporary of Kīrtivarma II. Madhavatti arasa and Nāgasakti must have held an important position in administration. It is said in the Adur inscription that the Gamuadas and Karanams made a request to Paramēśvara (King?) as well as to the Madhavatti arasa. This is to point out that the latter wielded some amount of influence over the imperial authority.

The Kalachūri dominions were divided among the Chief Feudatories of the Chalukyas after its conquest by Pulakēśi II. Out of these dominions, south Gujarat was handed over to the Sēdrakas. According to the Manora C.P., it is known that south Gujarat passed over to the Chalukyas from the Sēdrakas. The Sēdrakas were also in possession of the Khandesh as it evidenced by the Kasare C.P. South Gujarat and Khandesh must have formed parts of the Chalukya dominions after A.D. 670-671, on account of the fact that the Surat copper plate of

prince Prasaya Sibditya, issued in the name of his father Dharasraya Jaya[—]sinhavarma. This record mentions that the prince offered a gift of a village known as Isatti in Kandapalahara Vishaya to one Bhogikkavasi⁷⁴. ?

The contemporaries of Pulakesi II was Durgasakti son of Kundasakti and grand son of Vijayasakti. Similarly Bhimasakti was another subordinate ruler in the time of Pulakesi II.

Devasakti was a subordinate ruler of Vikramaditya I.

Another Sēdraka chief who played a prominent part in the provincial administration of the Sēdraka Vishaya on behalf of the Chālukyas was Maharaḥ Pōgilli. He was a contemporary of Vinayaditya. *A reference is made already*

Jayasakti son of Nikumbhallasakti and grandson of Aditya sakti and great grandson of Bhanusakti was a subordinate ruler of Vikramaditya II.

Nikumbhallasakti of the Sēdraka^{ka} family is stated to have made a gift of land in A.D. 655 situated in Trēy-anahāra viśaya. The Bāgumra plates⁷⁵ bear evidence to this fact. This plate also indicates that the Sēdrakas were ruling in some part of the Lata region. This point is further strengthened by the fact that the Nikumbha

Jayasakti son of Nīkumbhallaśakti made a gift of the village of Senanaka situated in Kundali Karkala viśaya.

Thus the Sēdrakas who ruled over Kāta, ^MMalava and Gurjara regions were the loyal feudatories of the Chālukya kings of Badami. Their cordial alliance may be traced from the times of Pulakēśi II. The Sēdrakas contributed solidly to the security and peace of the Chālukya dominions, particularly in the northern regions, throughout the rule of the Chālukya kings of Badami. ✓

(ii) Early Alupas

The early Alupas ruled over the Aluva country in the south Kanara region. This country has been referred to in later records as a province with a numerical suffix as 6000. It comprised Udayavara or the region south of ~~Monlan~~ ^{modern Udipi} ~~Idipi~~.

The Mahakuta pillar inscription⁷⁸ of Mangalēśa, dated 602 A.D., states that his elder brother and predecessor, Purāṇa Parakrūṣa (i.e. Kirtivarṇa I) conquered besides many other countries, Aluka and Vaijayanti. The country of the early Alupas was situated in the vicinity of the Kingdom of the Kadambas. That the Alupas had become independent of Kadamba control is evident from the Mahakuta pillar inscriptions wherein the Aluka and Vaijayanti are found, separately mentioned.

It is nowhere stated as to who was the Alupa contemporary of Kirtivarṇa I. Dr. Galetore's opinion that ~~Makamma~~ Alavarasār may have been Kirtivarṇa's contemporary has been found to be wrong.

The history of the relationship between the Alupas and the imperial family after their conquest, referred to above, shows that the conquest of the Alupa country by Kirtivarṇa resulted in the subjugation of the Alupa rulers to the imperial authority at Badami. Since the conquest, the Alupas have never attempted to become independent. On the other hand the subsequent rulers continued to pay their allegiance in a manner having no parallel in the provincial history of the Chalukyas.

The Aihole inscription⁷⁹, as if to confirm the above statement refers to the Alupas as Chālukya feudatories. Dr. Sastore is of the opinion that the Alupas raised the banner of revolt against Mangalēsa who was elsewhere preoccupied and that they had to be conquered afresh by Pulakēśi II. But Dr. K. V. Ramesh states that this ^{Contention} ~~condemnation~~ is not warranted.⁸⁰ He is of the opinion that Pulakēśi's greatness and powers were enough to ensure the continued allegiance of the two royal houses. A reference to the claim made in the Harihar plates⁸⁰, of Vinayāditya, Pulakēśi's grandson shows that the Alupas were hereditary subordinates of the Chālukya Kings. This reference is further in support of the view that Virtivarṇa's conquest of the Alupa country resulted in permanent subjugation of its ruling house.

After assigning the Maraturu copper plate of Satyaśrīya Prithvivallabha to the reign of Vikramāditya I, Dr. Ramesh states that the Alupas together with the Gangas helped Vikramāditya I in his attempt to restore the prestige of the house of Haddāmi⁸¹. In the light of the conclusions arrived at by the authors of the History of Karnataka, K.K.I., Dharwar, with whom ^{we} had a discussion, it is doubtful as to how far the Gangas were in association with the Alupas in helping Vikramāditya.

The first known name of an Alupa contemporary of a Chalukya emperor since their subjugation by Kirtivarma I is Aluvarasa I. Dr. Salefer is of the opinion that one Kundavarmanarasa was the father of Aluvarasa I, and that they were the contemporaries of Mangaleśa and Kirtivarma I. But this has been found to be incorrect as Kundavarmanarasa was not a member of the Alupa family but was an official serving under Aluvarasa I.

According to the undated inscription from Kigga⁸² Koppa taluk, Kadur district Aluvarasa was also known by his second name Gunasagara. He also ruled over Kadamba mandala. The inscription also states further that during the headmanship of Kundavarmanarasa, Aluvarasa and his queen Mahadevi along with Chitravahana granted in confirmation of the earlier grants, to the God of Kilgana, free of all imposts. The Sorab grant of ? Chalukya Vinayaditya confirms this identification and establishes the nature of relationship between Aluvarasa and Chitravahana. The inscription clearly says that the gift of the village of Salivege to Divakasasa^{hanna} was made by the emperor Vinayaditya at the request of Chitravahana Maharaja, son of Gunasagara Alupendra. Dr. Ramesh reads Chitravaha Maharaja as one and the same with Chitravahana of the Kigga inscription⁸³.

According to Mr. B. L. Rice, Dr. Moraes and Dr. Falcato, Kundavarmanarasa is said to be the predecessor and father of Aluvarasa. We have already stated that this opinion is not correct. Moraes is also of the opinion that Kundavarmanarasa became a vassal of Chalukya Pulakesi II, and was appointed by him to rule over Kadamba Mandala. But this view has been taken to be wrong by Dr. K. V. Ramash, who says that Kundavarmanarasa was only a subordinate official in charge of a district⁸⁴.

Although the Vaddarase and Kigga inscriptions do not mention any over lord of the Alupa king, it is evident from the contents of the Kigga and Forab records, that Aluvarasa I was closely connected with the house of the Badami Chalukyas. By virtue of his great services, Aluvarasa had secured an honourable position of a ruler, though as a subordinate ally. This position is confirmed by the fact that Aluvarasa son ^{of} Chitravahana was later accepted for the hand of Kunkumamahadevi, the sister of Vijayaditya of the imperial house.

According to the Maraturu grant of Vik. I⁸⁵ ^{hamaditya} dated A.D. 663, Aluka Maharaja is stated to have made a journey to Kallura in order to accept overlordship of the region from the Chalukya emperor. Very courteous references in the grant made on behalf of Aluvarasa shows that the

latter had earned the gratitude of Vikramāditya, perhaps by helping at a time of distress.

Aluvarasa Maharaja may have started his rule in A.D. 663, which is the date of the Maratun^{ru} grant. He must have ruled over the Tulu country and the Pombuchcha region from about A.D. 650 to and Kadamb^a mandala from A.D. 655 to A.D. 680. The former territory was later on called Santalige 1000.

Aluvarasa I was succeeded by his son Chitravahana I in A.D. 690. He ruled over Pombuscha, ^{which} Pombuchcha is modern Humcha in the Shimoga district. Chitravahana, possibly had been entrusted with the rule of Pombuscha even in the life time of the father Aluvarasa I. Chitravahana's relationship and close contact with the imperial house at Badami became more profound than his father, because Chitravahana's grants were all issued by his imperial Chalukya contemporaries.

In addition to the Kigga inscription, three copper plate inscriptions issued by the Chalukya over lords indicate the importance of Chitravahana and Alupa family in the eyes of the imperial authority. The earliest copper plate issued in A.D. 692, with reign of Vikramāditya's son, Vinayāditya, is from Sorab. It records the gift of the village of Sālivege, as already

referred to. This gift was made by the emperor Vinayāditya at the request of Chitravāha-Maharaja, son of Gunasāgara Alupenda. The title 'Maharāja' in all probability was conferred upon Aluvarasa I and Chitravāha or Chitravāhana I by the Chalukyas with whom they entered into very close alliance, as a mark of honour and recognition.

According to the Sorab plates, Chitravāhana was not ruling over Kadamba-mandala at least on that date viz., A.D. 663. This is also known by the grant described in the record that the village Sālivoḡe was situated in Edevolal viśaya near Banavāsī. Banavāsī was the headquarters of Banavāsī 12000 and Kadamba mandala. The emperor, Vinayāditya was on a visit to Banavāsī, 12000, when he was requested by the ruler of the division Chitravāhana to make the grant recorded in the Sorab plates. These records also state that Vinayāditya was encamped in the village of Chitrasedu in the Tōramara viśaya. Therefore, Tōramara viśaya and Edevolal viśaya were two subdivisions and the villages Chitrasedu and Sālivoḡe were very close to Banavāsī. As the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya indicate that the Edevolal viśaya was only a subdivision in the province of Banavāsī, it passed on to the rule of the Alupas after Kadamba mandala was bestowed to them by the Chalukyas.

✓ The Harihar plates of Vinayaditya strengthen the view that the Alupas were the hereditary subordinate rulers of the Chalukyas. As the Aihole inscription also refers to the fact, ^{the} the Alupas (the Gangas also) were subdued by the very dignity of the emperor, one point emerges clearly that the Alupas, once conquered by Kirtivarasa I, continued their allegiance without any break.

The three copper plates from Shiggaon, Dated 707 A.D. Dharwar district, are very valuable records from the point of view of Alupa-Chalukya relationship, particularly in the time of Chitravahana. These inscriptions describe the journey and visit of the Chalukya Vijayaditya to Banavasi. This visit was not the casual visit of the emperor from his camp but a specially considered one due to the high standing of Chitravahana. The Shiggaon plates amply bear testimony to the important status that Chitravahana held.

Chitravahana I took a prominent part in his battle with the Pandyan king Kochadadiyan. The Pandyan king invaded a part of the Alupa Kingdom round about Mangalapura where the Maharathas offered brave resistance. The Maharathas were none other than the soldiers of the Chalukyas army. There is enough reason to believe the stationing of a Chalukya army in the Alupa kingdom for

the protection of the frontiers and also as the Alupas were the subordinate allies of the Chālukyas. In the battle that followed, Chitravāhana bravely resisted and saw that the Pandyas did not invade the Tulu and Chālukya regions. For the valuable and timely services rendered by Chitravāhana in protecting Chālukya frontier, he came to be regarded as 'he who was the cause for prosperity of the Chālukya kingdom.' It is quite likely that Chitravāhana may have assisted Vijayāditya in his reign which was crowded with military expeditions. As a matter of fact both Chitravāhana and Vijayāditya were contemporaries ^{through} all their ruling period. Hence Chitravāhana could have taken an active part in the wars of Vijayāditya.

We may point out here that the Purpose of the Shiggaon plates is to register some grant made by the emperor Vijayāditya at the time of his visit to Chitravāhana at Bavavāsi at the latter's request to the Jain monastery. The Jain monastery was constructed by Kumkumadevi at Purigere or modern Lakshmeshwar. Kumkumadevi was the younger sister of Vijayāditya. She is also said to have made a gift of a village called Undigere in this connection.

According to an inscription (although dated 1076-77 A.D., refers to construction of the Anjaneya

basadi at Purigere by Kunkumamahadevi. A copper plate charter also refers to the fact that the lands of Gudigere were under the control of the Anjaneya basadi.

An interesting point is that the Shiggaon plates immediately after referring to Chitravahana's request to Vijayaditya alludes to Kunkumamahadevi as "the delight of his heart".⁸⁶ Dr.K.V.Ramesh in his thesis has made a reference to the conclusion arrived at by the learned editor of the Shiggaon plates. It is to the effect that, "Since Vijayaditya was her brother and since the grant to the Jaina monastery caused to be created by her was made at the request of Chitravahana, it is tempting to suggest that she might have been the wife of Alupa ruler, Chitravahana. Lines 36 to 37 of Shiggaon plates refer to Chitravahanaⁿ. Vijayaditya's visit to Banavasi (line 39) was as is to pay a courtesy visit to his brother-in-law and not in the capacity of an overlord.

By entering into marital alliance and also by his talents, Chitravahana may be said to have raised the status and prestige of the Alupa dynasty. Marriage between Chitravahana I and Kunkumamahadevi may have taken place after A.D. 674.

One more inscription (undated) namely at the Purga Paranesvari temple at Polali⁸⁶ - Annavijs, Mangalore

district makes a reference to the 'seven mothers as the protectors of the Ālupas. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi also repeatedly make reference to the 'seven mothers as having protected them'. The Ālupas must have started to adopt this method of paying respect to their protectors on the model of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi on account of their close and friendly contact.

(111) KADAMBAS

The Kadambas were the successors of the Śatvahānas in Kuntala. Their capital was Vaijayanti or Banavāsi. Since the period of Ajavarma, the Kadambas were the feudatories of the Chālukyas. Ajavash^{ma} was the contemporary of Kirtivarma I and Bhogivarma was that of Pulakesi II. References in the inscriptions indicate that feudal position of the Kadambas for nearly 366 years i.e. from A.D. 507 to A.D. 873-4. A list of victories of Kirtivarma I, Mangalesa's brother given in the Mahakata pillar inscription includes the Kadamba territory⁸⁸. Subsequently the region passed into the Chālukya ^{vi}sensitude.

The Kadambas tried to reestablish their power during the interregnum of the Chālukya empire which followed the death of Pulakesi II. But their attempt was foiled by Vikramāditya I.

(iv) NALAS⁸⁹

After the fall of the Satavahanas in the Deccan several kingdoms rose to power in the different parts of the region. One of them were the Nalas. They ruled over Bellary and Kurnool districts. The region became known as Nalavadi vishaya in later years.

The Nalas became the feudatories of the Chalukyas from the time of Vikramaditya I. According to the Kurnool copper plate⁹⁰ Vikramaditya in the 3rd year of his reign made a gift of a land in Ratnagiri in the Nalavadi Vishaya on the occasion of the Sangama fair. Ratnagiri is located to be the village of the same name, 13 miles from Madak sira in the Bellary district. The Nalas continued to be in the status of feudatory in the reign of Vinayaditya also. This is testified by the Dayasadinne copper plate of Vinayaditya⁹¹ which mention the gift of land by the King. Subsequently the region ruled by the Nalas may have been formed a part of the Andhra territories under the rule of the Chalukyas.

(v) GANGAS

The Gangas occupy a unique place in the history of the feudatories of the Chalukyas. Ever since their conquest by Kirtivarma I, they remained the most loyal feudatories of the Chalukyas. According to the Aihole

inscription⁹² Kirtivarma is said to have overcome the Gangas after defeating the Kadambas. Subsequently the Gangas appear to have sympathised with Pulakēśi^{II} who had been deposed of the throne by Nagalēśa and even assisted him in winning back his ancestral dominions. However, the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II refers to the fact that the Gangas along with the Alupa kings surrendered their treasure and accepted his rule. Probably Pulakēśi II may have overrun the Ganga territories to get reassurance of their loyalty. The devoted service and loyalty of the Gangas is borne out by the fact that they did not resist the imperial power during the 13 year period of interregnumⁿ 642-655 A.D. when Vikramāditya was striving hard to re-establish Chalukya power and glory.

(vi) MAURYAS

A few copper plates have been recently discovered in Konkan and Goa, belonging to the Chalukya dynasty of the period of the 6th or 7th centuries. According to them one ruler Chandavarma Maharaja made a gift of land to a Mahavihara in the village of Shivapura. Shivapura⁹³ has been identified with the village of the same name near Chandora near Goa. Its Chandavarma is said to be a Mauryan ruler.

The Bandora copper plate⁹⁴ says that one Anigita^uvarma camped at Vijayaskandavara in Kumaradvipa. He made a gift of a certain land - taluk and garden house to a Brahmin Mastarya by name of Hariti gotra after addressing the people and officers of 12 villages.

These two records have a script of eighth or the 8th century A.D. or before. They point out that the Mauryas ~~is known~~ were ^{the} feudatories of the Chalukyas⁹⁵. ~~Kumaradvipa is equated with the islands near Konkan were feudatories of the Chalukyas⁹⁵. Kumaradvipa is equated with the islands near Konkan as Revatidīpa~~ is also one such⁹⁶. ✓

(vii) BHŌJAS

The Bhōjas were ruling Konkan from the 4th to the 7th centuries A.D. That the Chalukyas defeated the Bhōjas and made them subordinates is not mentioned in either the Mahakṣṭa pillar inscription of Mangalēsa or the Aihole inscription of Pulakēsi II. So, probably, the Bhōjas had been conquered by the Mauryas of Konkan before the Chalukyas could be friend them.

According to the Dhondaka copper plate⁹⁷, Jayasinha Varma son of Pulakēsi II was ruling the Nasik province in Saka 580 or A.D. 638. Pulakēsi's brother Dharaśraya Jayasinhavarma is said to have donated the village of

Bale in Goparashtra. Goparashtra has been identified with Nasik province on the strength of the Nirpan copper plate. R.C. Panchamukhi is of the opinion that Goparashtra, Purvatrikuta, Palitataka were included in the Nasik province and that these parts were in the possession of Bhogasakti of Harischandra varma. He says further that the Anjaneri Copper plate relates that one Rvamisichandra served with all devotion Vikramaditya I, and obtained from him ^{and} Purikonkan as gift; that Pulakesi II must have defeated the Bhojas and the Mauryas and later on handed them over to his brother, thereafter his son Vikramaditya I became the lord of the regions and when he received assistance from Rvamisichandra of Harischandra family he presented Purikonkan 14,000 to him as a mark of his affection.

(viii) EULER OF BODACHA

The inscription of the Katakchuris or Kalamchuris show that their empire extended from Malwa to Nasik and included Badocha and Badoda districts of the Lata province. One Sangasinha was ruling as a feudatory in A.D. 540 from the capital Bodache near the river Narada⁹⁸. The Mahakuta pillar^a inscription describes that Mangalasa defeated King Buddha and took his wealth. Further the Bulsara copper plate points out that Mangalasa appointed Vijayavarma of the Chalukya dynasty.

It is doubtful whether the Kadambas continued as feudatories of the Chālukyas after Mangalēśa's reign and whether they had any sort of political importance; also.

(ix) ABHIRAS, TRIKUTA

The Abhiras, Trikuta and Vātatakas ruled over the province of Nasik, Kurals, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Uta and Konkan. Finally, the Kalachuri became supreme over many of the regions. Its ruler Krishana rāja has been credited with consolidation of Kalachuri power by the Abhiras copper plate⁹⁹ of Shankaragana. The Sankheda copper plate of Shankaragana and Vadneri as and Saravani copper plates of Buddharaja also describe the gifts of land made on some important occasions. Many of the lands donated were in Konkan area.

It is Buddharaja who was defeated by the Chālukya king, Mangalēśa. He is stated to have been the son of Shankaragana in the Nerur copper plate. The same Nerur copper plate further states that Mangalēśa defeated and killed Svāmīrāja, the Chālukya viceroy of Nevatidvīa who became a rebel. Afterwards Mangalēśa appointed Satyāśaraya Dhvaraja Indravarma. This must have happened in A.D. 601. Buddharaja must have regained independence till Pulakēśi II again defeated the rulers of Konkan

and Revati island. R.L. Panchasukhi says that the Mauryas were the feudatories of the Kalachuris, that they made war against Vinayaditya and the Haihayas, that Vikramaditya married the Haihaya princess and that the Haihayas may be identified with the Kalachuris¹⁰⁰.

However, it cannot be stated with certainty whether the Bhōjas, Katakūris, Abhiras at Traikutā^x styled themselves as the feudatories of the Chālukyas of Bāṇāsi throughout the period. .

(x) BANAS

The Banas ruled over a fairly big kingdom over the regions of the Śrīśaila mountains. According to Prof. Mirashi the kingdom was extended to central provinces of Madhya Pradesh on the ground that one of the inscriptions is found in Bilaspur district. It is very doubtful as there are no corroborative evidences to prove this. Except the fact that the Banas were defeated by Pulakēśi II, no other information is available with regard to rulers of this time and the Chālukyas.

The Peddavadaguru inscription¹⁰¹, refers to the fact that Pulakēśi II issued orders remitting certain taxes in the kingdom of the Banas. This shows that the subordinate position of the Banas to the Chālukya family.

According to Tippaluru¹⁰² copper plate inscription of the first year of Vikramāditya II, a gift of land is said to have been made to one Brahmin. At that time one Pōrmukharaja was ruling the territory of the Chālukyas upto river Pennar as a representative of the Bana King. We also know that Tāṇḍamara viśaya of the Chālukya dominions was in the territories of the Banas. The Banas were ruling this territory as the feudatories of the Chālukyas. Very close to this region, the Telugu Cholas were ruling the region around Renandu comprising Chāḍapaṇ and Kurnool areas. These cholas had their rule in a territory betwixt between the Pallava and the Chālukyas. So the Telugu cholas were once the feudatories of the Chālukyas and at some other period, the feudatories¹⁰³ of the Pallavas.

The Banas at their earliest period were the subordinates of the Kādambas. It was Pulakēśhi II who defeated them and since that event they remained as the feudatories of the Chālukyas. King Vikramāditya, father of Vinayāditya, is stated to have conquered a Bana king. This king bore the name of Binayadityarasar and ruled Korikundalike 300. In all probability this chief Binayadityarasar was a subordinate of Vinayāditya and assumed his name¹⁰⁴.

(xi) CHĀLUKYAS OF BODHAN

R.G.Panckamukhi is of the opinion that according to Vikramarjuniya, the ancestry of the line of Kings commencing with Arikesari, Patron of Poet Pampa is traced from Yaddhamalla Vinayaditya ^{and that} at their Kollipara gift document of Arikesari may be taken to be the ^{or his} son of Vinayaditya; that he ruled a territory comprising Nizambad, Karimnagar, Nalgonda and Raichur districts after Pulakesi II's exploits and that the Arikesari's line is a direct descendant of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. *However the Chālukyas of Bodhan belong to a slightly later period.*

Some authors are of the opinion that Vinayaditya Yudhamalla was the son of Jayasimavarma brother of Pulakesi II. But this cannot be supported by facts.

Territories ruled by the relatives of the Imperial dynasty

A few territories were ruled by the relatives of the imperial house. Chandraditya son of Pulakesi II was entrusted with the governance of the Sāvantavādi region. From the Kachre grant of Vijayamahadevi¹⁰⁵ the queen of Chandraditya we may note that the Sāvantavādi region of the Ratnagiri district was included in the Chālukya dominions.

That the region round about Guntur formed part of Chalukya dominions ever since Pulakesi II's time under the rule of his son Aditya is known to us from Maratur Copper plate¹⁰⁶. Dr.R.V.Ramesh assigns this inscription

to the reign of Pulakesi's son and successor Vikramāditya I. Although this view is tenable it is quite possible that Marahir^{tw} and its surrounding region may have formed part of the Chalukya dominions in the time of Pulakesi IV itself.

As has been stated already, the presence of this one inscription belonging to the time of Pulakesi IV is not enough ground to say that the Chalukyas had their early home in the Andhra country as Dr.K.V.Pamesh has suggested.

From the Talmanohi copper plate it is clear that Vikramāditya ruled over Kurnool area in the Andhra region. Another inscription from Darsi in Nellore also mentions about restoration of a gift of land. Besides bearing testimony to the king's authority over the northern parts of the Nellore district it is the first record of the king found so far in the northern regions of the eastern coast¹⁰⁷.

Section IV: Independent Allies

(1) Chalukyas of Gujarat

According to the Nasik grant (copper plate) of Dharmaraya Jayasinhavarma of the year A.D. 685, it is clear that the Chalukyas of Badami were in alliance with the Chalukyas of Gujarat, as the latter was the founder

of Gujarat line of the Chalukyas. He was the son of Pulakēśi II. The fact that he founded the Gujarat line of rulers in Gujarat is also mentioned in the Manora copper plate of Vinayādittya (Yuddhamalla) Jayāśraya Mangalarasa¹⁰⁸. It is quite probable that Śraśaya Śilāditya, eldest son of Dharaśraya Jayasinha and Jayasraya vinayāditya Mangalarasa, his younger son must have ruled over the different regions of Gujarat as an independent ^{ally} only. In the ^{reign} of Vikramāditya I Dharaśraya ruled Gujarat. That the Chalukya branch of this area continued to retain Lata mandala under their rule is known from the Kaira copper plate dated A.D. 643'.

Subsequently Jayasinhavarma's son Yuvarāja Śraśaya Śilāditya made a gift in which included Surat also. This region had Nausarika (Namsari) as capital¹⁰⁹.

From the Nausari copper plate dated A.D. 671 and 730, Surat inscription of A.D. 692 and the Bular copper plate of A.D. 731-32 we come to know that Jayasinha Varma¹¹⁰ the viceroy of Gujarat had four sons. They were Śraśaya Śilāditya, Vinayāditya, Avanijanāśraya and Jayāśraya Mangalarasa. Out of these, Śraśaya Śilāditya styled himself as Yuvarāja in the year A.D. 672 and 692 which shows that Jayasinha Varma was living during this period and that he was ruling the regions referred to in the records.

Vijayavarma was ruling the Satara region as a Chalukya subordinate in A.D. 643. This fact is evidenced by the Khairi copper plates¹⁰⁴. Dr. Bhavadarkar is of the opinion that this record is a spurious one. But Dr. ~~Pr.~~¹⁰⁵ denies this and supports it as a genuine record. Vijayavarma is stated to have made a gift of land while he was in Kasakula vishaya.

Brasaya sibi^Lditya's rule appears to have been over after A.D. 691-92, as his name is not referred to anywhere in the copper plates of this line. However, Avanijajāsraya Pulakēsi brother of Vinayāditya Mangalasa ruled over the territory of Dharāsraya Jayasimha varma. It was this ruler who repelled the invasion of Arabs and protected the kingdom for which he got the title 'Dakshinapatha Sādharu'^V¹¹¹ 'Chalukya Kulalanakara' by Vikramaditya II.

Dharāsraya Jayasimha varma was associated in the administration of this region for a long time with his son Yuvaraja ~~Brasaya~~^{Silāditya}.

(11) THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS

Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Pulakēsi II was the Governor of the Satara region. ^{But} after the conquest of the provinces of Kalinga, and Andhra by Pulakēsi II, Vishnuvardhana settled himself there and founded the

eastern Chalukya dynasty with Vengi as the capital for more than 500 years. The territory of the eastern Chalukyas comprised of Andhra and part of Kalinga country. Vishnuvardhana administered the country as a subordinate of the Chalukyas of Badami. The Koppur plates of A.D. 627-30, states that "Prithvi ⁴dhvaraja having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm, which was a churning stick of the wicked people of the Kali age and which was skilled in daring deeds in many battles (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". It further tells us that Pulakesi made 'Prithviduvaraja', the executor of the grant. The Kasakudi plates also refer to Vishnuvardhana I dated A.D. 615-16, mentions him as Prithvi Vallabha, Vishnuvardhana Yuvaraja.

The kingdom of Vengi was divided into a number of visayas, Desas, with Vengi as the capital. Each visaya was administered by an ^{adhyaksha} adhyaksha, i.e. Superintendent. The other officers of the state were the Mantrin, Purohita, Yuvaraja, Senapati, Amatya, Pradhana, Dauvarika, Katakaraaja, Dandahinatha and Dananaya i.e. councillors, priest, heir-apprent, Commander of the army, Minister, Chiefs door-keeper, superintendent of the royal camp, Chief justice and judge.

Vishnuvardhana was installed as an independent ruler of Vengi mandala by his brother Pulakesi II after his victorious campaign in the east. He ruled the kingdom of Vengi which comprised Andhra and part of Kalinga. The eastern branch held authority for nearly 500 years. During the period they developed a civilization of a high order which was their own. In later times they held sway over the whole country. *Q/14*

The territory near ^{the} capital with Badami as headquarters was under the direct rule of the Chalukya kings. Savantavadi region was under the rule of a relative of the royal house. Similarly, four visayas in the island of Revati¹¹² and Konkan were under the rule of a relative of the royal family. Kuntala and Gangavadi were under the rule of feudatory kings who accepted overlordship of the Chalukyas. Vengi mandala was under the rule of the Eastern Chalukyas, an offshoot of the imperial dynasty. The Lata region was under the rule of the king's relatives.

Kirtivarma I had three sons. Pulakesi was the eldest son. Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the second son was ruling Satara province. Dharasraya Jayasimhavarma, Madanangasraya the third son was ruling the Nasik province.

Similarly, in the reign of Pulakesi II, his four sons were entrusted with the rule of four divisions. These divisions were of much strategic importance as they formed frontier regions. Jayasinha, Chandraditya, Adityavarma and Vikramaditya were entrusted with the administration of Gujarat (Lata) Nasik and Savantavadi, Kurnool region and the home regions, respectively. The eastern regions forming the province of Vengi was entrusted to Pulakesi's brother Kubja Vishnu vardhana. He belonged to the imperial house and though he started his rule as a Yuvaraja, subsequently his family became independent rulers as they were only an off-shoot of the main ruling dynasty. We have already said that Kubja Vishnuvardhana was ruling the province of Katera as Yuvaraja, before he was appointed to the eastern dominions.

Governors belonging to the royal household enjoyed much independence in the administration of their province. They also took titles of the imperial dynasty and issued orders or śasanas and made grants of lands etc. Their interests were greatly intertwined with the interests of the imperial authority. Hence they carried on their administration so as to be in close harmony with that of the central authority.

In the case of certain governors not from the royal household and feudatory chiefs, they also ^{acted} as general —

practice issued grants and orders. But wherever such of these had been specifically required to obtain permission from the king to issue orders and grants, such permission was sought for.

Next to the Governors, there were many vassals or feudatory chiefs. They were also entrusted with administration of territorial units. They held a semi-autonomous position. They had several designations like the Samantas, Mahadalesvara, Dandanayaka, Raja and sometimes Maharaja. The powers and status of these rulers varied. As a normal practice, they had the privileges such as the use of thrones, fly whiskers, palanquins, elephants and pancha mahasabdas. Many feudatories were under the control of their powerful feudatories who were ruling in the close vicinity of the territory of the minor feudatory.

One more common practice concerning the administration of the territorial units was the office of the governor or feudatory depended as long as his loyalty was not doubtful. Whoever he may be a feudatory chief, a minor feudatory, governor or even the relatives of the imperial family, they were to hold their office as long as they assured the king of their allegiance, firmly. They were also to maintain their possessions secure. In the event of not coming up to the expectations of the king in this direction, any provincial functionary

or territory^{al} chief could be replaced or punished by the king. It was this fundamental feature that went a long way in giving to the territorial divisions a model if not a replica of the imperial administration itself. The fundamental ideal of "Dashta nigraha and Sista paripalana" which the king followed was also set before the provincial functionaries. In this field the Chālukyas of Bādāmi may rightly be said to have organised the provinces of the Deccan for the first time in the history with the provincial functionaries having a constitutional and administrative status.

On the basis of military or police or strategical grounds, forts were normally created into an administrative division. Such a division was called a 'durga'. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi [<] knew the ^{Construction} conception of forts. This is evident from the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II where Bādāmi is referred to as a Giridurga¹³⁵.

Control by the central government over the provinces and feudatory areas depended on the status of the provincial functionary or feudatory chiefs and the needs of the province or division. Central control prevailed to a great extent over the minor feudatories. They were even expected to obtain permission from the central government to issue grants in their division,

if there was a restraint to the effect. Smaller and bigger feudatories were also expected to entertain ambassadors from the imperial court. These ambassadors represented as agents and safeguarded the King's interests in the provincial units. It is quite probable that a system of spies existed to provide information to the imperial government without delay.

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33. E.I. viii; 229. Jour. Bomb. Br. R.A.S. xvi; 1.
34. N.L.Rao and R.S.P; Kar. Arasu; 83-84.
35. E.I. xiv; 62.
36. R.S.Panchamuki; Kar. Iti; 214.
37. N.L.Rao and R.S.P; Kar.Arasu; 79.
38. I.A. vi; 75.
39. R.S.Panchamuki; Kar. Iti; 223.
40. E.I. xi; 46.
41. I.A. xix; 248.
42. Stone inscription from Nitturugudipadu; A.I.R. 1959-60, No. 1
43. E.I. xxx, pt.I; 12-17.
44. E.H.D. pts. i-iv; 236. N.L.Rao and R.S.P; Kar. Arasu; 139.
45. N.L.Rao and R.S.P; Kar. Arasu; 99.
46. I.A. xi; 123.
47. Jejuri G.P.(R.S.P; Kar. Iti; 215); Nerur c.p. (Ibid; 207); E.I. xxii; 244; I.A. vii; 300.

48. Corpus of insc. from Kannada Districts of Hyderabad State; Ed. by Dr.P.R.Desai, 23. S.I.I. ix; pt. 1, No. 66.
49. E.C. vii; H1-13.
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- 55-a. Jour. Bom. Br.R.A.S. xvi; 232-42.
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58. Appendix, G.
59. B.R.D. 1-iv; 236. E.I. viii; 4. P.C.Firears: Ind. Ep. Glo; 378.
60. M.V.Krishna Rao: The Gangas of Talahad.
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62. I.A. vii; 209.
63. And. Ant. vii; 161.
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65. I.A. vii; 217.
66. Inscription from Kalnesvara Temple, Kurtakoti, Gadag Tq, Dharwar district. Arch. Survey of India, 1923-24. Bom. Kar. In Sec. I. pt. 1. No. 2. S.I.I. xi; pt. 1, Bom. Kar. Ins., 1940; 11.

67. ✓ Altekar: State and Govt. in Anc. India; 302.
68. Ibid; 302-303.
69. I.A. xi; 105. One Desirajagara was administering mugunda from Kundagolu under Kokkoti Vikramāditya (A.I.R.1960-61; 406).
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73. Kar. Ins. I; 74.
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76. Manora o.p.; R.S.P; Kar. Iti.; 207.
77. Kanara o.p. Ibid; 245-47.
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79. E.I. xiv; 188-91. I.A. vi;
80. History of South Kanara (Thesis at Kar.Uni. Lib.) 85-103.
81. I.A. vii; 300.
82. Hist. of South Kanara, (Thesis at Kar. Uni. Lib.) 85-103.
83. Ibid; 85-103.
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88. I.A. xix; 7.
89. Dr.Fleet: Dyn. Kan.Dts. Articles in E.I.

90. Jour. om. Br. R.A.S. xvi; 223+ 235.
91. E.I. xxi; 24.
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107. Talamanchi Plates --R.S.P. Kar. Iti; 206.
108. E.I. 111; 30.
109. R.S.P. Kar. Iti; 249.
110. E.I. xxxviii; 21.
111. R.S.P. Kar. Iti; 234.
112. N.L. Rao and R.S.P. Kar. Arasu; 88.
Jour. Bom. Br. R.A.S; x, 348.

CHAPTER IV

INTER STATE RELATIONS AND MILITARY ORGANISATION

Section I: (i) Inter-State Relations in War:

After making a survey of the government and its organisation in the dominions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, we may describe inter-state relations as far as the available material provides information. Inter-state relations of the Chālukyas may be divided into two parts - Inter-state relations in war and the same in times of peace.

We have already indicated in Chapter III how the small kingdom of Pulakēśi I expanded into a large one in later period comprising many territorial states. Most of the states included parts of the earlier dynasties like those of the Kadāmbas and the Gangas. The status and prestige of the different states differed according to their resource and attitude of their rulers. As far as the central government was concerned it is worthwhile to point out that the Chālukya kings performed the Aśvanēdha sacrifice to become the king of kings and also the Vājapeya sacrifice to become an emperor. Such an ambitious policy on the part of some of the Chālukya kings who wished to become a Vijgishu had the sanction of principles of policy as adumbrated in the śūtrīs and

Arthasastra of Kautilya. These books on Hindu policy also point out that the kings of ancient times were prevented to a large extent to make unrighteous war. They were exhorted by the sanctions of the same authorities to minimise war and bring about a harmonious relation within the states and follow a judicious balance of power among the different states comprising the dominions. The policy of ^{annexation} annihilation of weaker states resulted in the practice of placing a prince of the royal family of the defeated family itself who accepted to carry on the government in the name of the conqueror. Thus the dominions of the Chalukyas like those of the Satavahanas or the Rashtrakutas had a large number of feudatories who enjoyed a good deal of autonomy.

A very common practice therefore among the kings of ancient times in building an empire of their own was that of 'digvijaya'. By the victorious campaign the king would become the head of the Mandala or Shakya or circle of kings and by virtue of the supreme position he would become a paramount power. This practice of kings is implied in the famous Rajamandala theory. Writers on Hindu polity, particularly, Kautilya give support to adoption of such a policy by an aspirant and brave prince and exhorts him to follow a policy of digvijaya in order to weld the small kingdoms into one big and strong empire.

According to the Rajamandala theory, it is assumed that the country is divided into a number of small states and that there will be an ambitious conqueror to set up supremacy over them. The immediate neighbouring state is assumed to be enenical in nature. The state which is the neighbour of one's neighbour is taken as a friendly ally. Next to the enemy (ari) and ally (mitra) are the following prominent elements of the Mandala viz., enemy's ally (arimitra), one's ally's ally (mitra mitra) and enemy's ally's ally (arimitra mitra). The number of kings in the front are five.

The kings in the rear are named differently. The immediate neighbour in the rear is known as one who attacks in the rear (Pāraṇi grāha). Next to him are the ally in the rear (ākraṇḍa), ally of the rearward enemy (Pāraṇi grāha Sāra) and ally of the rearward ally (ākraṇḍa Sāra). The number of kings in the rear is four.

The king who had affinity with the conqueror and his enemy or indifferent is called madhyama. A king with similar strength but having no affinity to the conqueror, his enemy or madhyama was called udāsina. The twelfth member of the Mandala was the Vijigishu². According to circumstances and practical needs of the times, this theory was not strictly applied in all cases by all kings. However, the general truth about circle of friends

associated with suzerain and party alignments held good and this can be explained in relation to the military expeditions and diplomatic relations of the Chalukyas of Badami with their neighbouring states.

The theory assumes the probable animosity between the neighbours. The enmity between the Chalukyas of Badami and the Pallavas of Kanchi was, therefore, largely due to their contiguity. The five kings (elements) constituting the Mandala in front may approximately be specified as follows:

<u>Ari.</u>	= Pallavas (front)(immediate neighbour)
<u>Mitra.</u>	= The Gangas (neighbour of one's neighbour)
<u>arimitra.</u>	= The Cholas (Enemy's ally)
<u>Mitra mitra</u>	= Kadambas for some time and Alupas (one's ally's ally)
<u>Arimitra mitra</u>	= The Pandyas and the Keralas (Enemy's ally's ally)

(ii) General Causes for ^{war}win and rules followed in warfare

To put it in general terms, the usual causes for war among states were -

1. the aspiration to obtain the imperial status,
2. Need for self-defence,
3. Acquisition of territories or collection of tributes,
4. Maintenance of balance of power,
5. Retaliation for invasions, and
6. Rescue of subject peoples.

War among states was inevitable due to one or more of the causes mentioned above. Therefore, writers on ancient polity prescribed a high code of honour on the battle-field to minimise evils of war. It is not easy to say that all the rules were being observed in warfare. However, as long as the opposing states were equally matched, and annexation did not follow the ^{defeat} date (of, the code of conduct was observed to a great degree. A few of them may be mentioned here. For instance, that the enemy should not be struck without due notice or when he is not properly armed and ready or when he is at a disadvantage. Another point worth mentioning is that warfare also did not cause ruin to agricultural operation ^{and left the peaceful population} unharmed. Hiuen Tsang was very much surprised by the fact that wars, though frequent, produced little harm to the country.

If annexations of the defeated country were absent the rules of warfare were followed as a general practice. Otherwise unfair methods were used to build an empire by taking over the territories belonging to the defeated state. According to Kantibya, ^u if a state has immense superiority over its enemy it should follow the codes of a dharma yuddha; otherwise it should have recourse to all methods of warfare, fair or foul.²

Normally while making annexations, a method of warfare known as Kuta yuddha was followed. This type of warfare allowed attack at any time and under all circumstances. A large number of inscriptions which are slightly later than those of the western Chalukyas refer to the practice of Kuta yuddha at the time.

Even Kuta yuddha had the basis of certain principles. For instance "it was laid down that one who laid down arms and throw^e himself on the mercy of the conqueror was not to be killed, so also one who was wounded or fly^{ee}ing away from battle field. Prisoners of war, if wounded, were to be treated by the army doctors."

(iii) Rules or a code of conduct prescribed by Writers on Polity for a digvijayin

A digvijayin had also a few ideals set before him. He marched at the head of his forces and acted in a fair and chivalrous spirit. He respected the captives and non-combatants. He conquered all other kings of the country. The purpose of his conquest was to add to his own glory and also to obtain the spiritual merit which was associated with righteous wars. He received the loyalty and the tribute of the kings whom he conquered. The kings remained in their respective kingdoms but accepted the digvijayin as their overlord. If the conquered Princes had any disputes among themselves the

digvijin played the role of an arbitrator. The Princes accepted the decision given by him. The Princes paid tribute and held their territories for themselves as long as they ruled justly and loyally. A far reaching result of the ideal practices of the digvijin in Hindu India, would be that the several states would be unified under the rule of a strong and capable ruler. In the words of a great writer on Hindu Polity, "Perhaps translated into twentieth century democratic terms, the ideal of Hindu India would be a federation of internally independent states."⁴

Besides the purpose of establishing supremacy over a circle of kings and undertaking military campaigns another need for maintenance of an efficient fighting force was belligerency. It is apt here to quote. Dr. F.V. Mahalingam who observes that "Belligerency was considered a sign of vigour and possession of military qualities contributed much for survival, for war was a stimulant and regenerator. Hence most States from the earlier times paid much attention to military organisation and developed war-mindedness."⁵ For instance the wars between Chālukyas of Bādāmi and Pallavas of Kāñchi were due among other reasons to their desire to get and retain possession of the debated frontier.

Further, the Chalukya dominions in the 7th and 8th centuries could never be in a state of everlasting tranquillity and separation. It was obliged to have contact with the neighbours and also to strengthen its frontiers. Consequently they had maintained a large and powerful army. "Realising the importance of military strength for the internal peace and prosperity of the state as well as immunity from foreign attack, the early Chalukyas built up a strong reserve of disciplined standing army known as "Karnataka bala"⁶, a term which is referred to in the Rastrakuta inscriptions who later supplanted the Chalukyas. Dandidurga is stated to have quickly overcome 'the boundless army of Karnataka' i.e. the army of Kirtivarma II. The Chalukya troops - 'Countless and invincible'⁷ - were largely responsible for the maintenance of the Empire for over 3 centuries and also to bring under control, recalcitrant feudatory vassals. It also helped the kings to achieve brilliant military successes. The efficiency and nature of the military organisation came to be a synonym for power, supremacy and military valour. The name 'Karnata' thus stood as it were for competence of the military forces, maintained by the Chalukya kings.

Wars with the Pallavas were inevitable. It is obvious from the Chalukya inscriptions that warlike

operations were not infrequent between these two powers with results alternately in favour of them - an invasion of the Pallava king in the reign of Pulakēsi II had a counter invasion of the Pallava dominions by the Chālukyas. The Pallavas were the sworn enemies of the Chālukyas. An inscription of Vikramāditya's son describes how determined he was to destroy the Pallavas "who had darkened the splendour of his lineage"⁸. That Vikramāditya is said to have even more praised as a member of the Chālukya family and the destroyer of the Pallava lineage is evidenced by the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I. The Pattadakal inscription of Kirtivarman II describes Vijayāditya's son "as having bruised the town of Kañchi"⁹. Possession of the debated frontier was the primary cause for war. This is clear from the Pullalora battle described in the Kāsakudi plates. Therefore the kings had to pay much attention to military organisation and the people also developed military qualities and an aptitude for war. Soldierly qualities were considered essential for survival. By force of circumstances, therefore, the Chālukyas of Bādami were compelled to maintain a large and powerful army and utilise the army in times of defence and protection. For the purpose of indicating army discipline and also existence of a Code of fighting in these days, it may be proper here to quote Hsuen-Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim.

(iv) Soldierly Virtues of the People:

Hsuen-Tsang gives the following description of the people. "Their manners are simple and honest. They are tall, haughty and supercilious in character, whoever does them service may count on their gratitude but he who offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insults them they will not risk their lives to wipe out the affront. If one applies to them in difficulty, they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to give warning to their enemy after which each dons his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle, they pursue the fugitives, but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle instead of punishing corporally, they make him wear woman's clothes and by that force him to sacrifice his own life". "The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they are about to engage in conflict, they intoxicate themselves with wine and with one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them to fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they ingbrate many hundred heads of elephants and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine and

with one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them to fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine^e and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants treats his neighbours with contempt."¹⁰

A general belief among the people was common namely, to fight for protection, defence and independence of the Kingdom. The ideal was, if they fought to the last and succeeded in protecting the kingdom they would be rewarded with the kingdom itself, or the reward of Rajyalakshmi^m; if they die on the field^l of battle, they would win a place in heaven or 'Veera Swarga'. In honour of the mortals, stone slabs or 'Virakals' used to be erected. They deserve a mention here, Although there are only a few instances. For instance the Nellur inscription at Darsi of the reign of Vikramaditya I, is engraved on the hero stone on which the hero is represented as holding a dagger. Evidently, the hero stone was erected in memory as a monument of his bravery. The speciality of this hero stone is that

the hero is wearing the 'Yagnōpaveeta'.

Similarly, the words of a Valiant Person whose inscription is available at Bādāmi may be cited here to prove ^{only} holding virtues of the people. One Kappe Arabhatta used to say that 'Death is ^{preferable} Preterable to infamy because it causes pain for a while but disgrace adds pain every day".

The spirit of the people in warfare was, therefore, similar to that referred to in the 'Arthasastra' - i.e. slaying without delay openly or immediately or indirectly the wicked subjects or dashtas, giving an open fight, particularly, when the king was powerful and had an advantage of time and place or a treacherous flight when circumstances were not favourable, were observed as the general methods of warfare.

The purpose, art and nature of warfare thus satisfied sanctions of the then prevailing Codes of Warfare. According to Kautilya, who quotes Ushanas 'The Earth swallows these two namely -- a king who does not oppose an enemy and a Brahmin who does not travel about, like a snake swallowing the animals living in holes.'¹¹ Hence wars were inevitable and the required preparations for wars had become obligatory.

(v) ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CHALUKYA ARMY HELPFUL FOR A
SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY

Inscriptions of the Chalukyas are replete with graphic descriptions of the achievements of the mighty Chalukya army, on which depended very much the foreign policy of the Chalukya kings. The stone tablet in Meguti temple at Aihole of an uncertain date says of Jaysinha Vallabha that he showed bravery in warfare in which "the bewildered horses and footsoldiers and elephants were filled by the blows of many hundreds of weapons and in which there flashed thousands of rays of the rhinoceros hide armour,"¹² and the rays of the swords of dancing and fear-inspiring headless trunks". It describes further that "with his armies which were darkened by the spotless chowries and hundreds of banners and umbrellas that were waved over them and which annoyed his enemies who were inflated with valour and energy and which consisted of the six fold constituents of hereditary followers."¹³

The prowess of Kirtivarma is described in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II. The relevant portion of the record says that he was the 'night of death' to the "Cholas and Maurays and Kadambas"; straightway the mighty Kadamba tree which was the confederacy of the Kadambas was broken to pieces by him, the mighty one, a very choice elephant

of a king who had acquired the goddess of victory by his prowess in war."¹⁴

Although inscriptions speak of the bravery of kings in conventional phraseology, the basic truth contained in the records cannot be denied. The swords are described as "fointillatin torches."¹⁵ Again another inscription refers to "the glancing, lightening of their banners."

Further the Megati (No. XIII V. 3.) inscription states that after Kirtivarma I's conquest of the Katakuri and Revatidvipa, "his mighty army which abounded in splendid banners and which had beset the ramparts--being reflected in the water of the ocean--was as if it were the army of Varuna that had come at its command"¹⁶.

The military campaigns of the Chālukya king (Kirtivarma I) resulted in the subjection of the Lātas, the Malavas and the Gurjaras. "Being subdued by his prowess the Lātas and the Malavas and the Gurjaras became as it were worthy people behaving like Chieftains brought under subjection by punishment."¹⁷

Further, Pulakesi II is said to have acquired the sovereignty of the three countries called Mahārā^hstraka which contained 990000 villages. Kalingas and Keralas were also conquered and the fortress of Pistapura became easy of access.

The effect of the campaign of Pulakēśi II on the Pallavas was gloomy when he made a war against them, Pallavas. The inscription describes that the water which was stirred up by him having its interstices filled by his dense troops of elephants and being coloured with the blood of the men, who were slain in many battles was like the sky which has the hues of evening much intensified by the Sun among the clouds. With his armies which were darkened by the spotless chowries that were waved over them and hundreds of banners and umbrellas and which annoyed his enemies who were inflated with valour and energy and which consisted of the six constituents of hereditary followers. He caused the leader of the Pallavas who aimed at the eminence of his own power to hide his prowess behind the ramparts of the City of Kāñchīpura, which was concealed under the dust of his army".¹⁸

He subdued the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas and "became a very Sun to (melt) the hoar frost which was the army of the Pallavas".¹⁹

"Pulakēśi II (Śatyāśraya) possessed of energy and regal power and good counsel having conquered the neighbouring countries and having dismissed with honour the (Subjugated) kings and having propitiated the Gods and Brahmins and having entered the City of Vātāpi Nagari

was governing the whole world, which is girt about by a moat".

Then he (Pulakēśi) subdued the Kalingas and the Keralas and took the fort of Pichtapura. That the waters of the Kolleru lake turned red by the blood of the soldiers who were killed by Pulakēśi II is evidenced by the Aihole inscription.²⁰

"Ravaged by him the waters of Kunala (Kolleru lake)--coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutered elephants--was like the cloud--covered sky in which the red evening twilight has risen."²¹ With his six fold forces (Shadvidabala) the hereditary troops and the rest who raised spotless choweries, thousands of flags, umbrellas and darkness (darkness) raised by dust of troops) and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy he caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kañchipura".

When the army of Pulakēśi^{II} went for the conquest of the Cholas, the waters of the Kāveri 'became fragrant with the rutting juice of their elephants'²². His army which conquered the Cholas, Kunelas and Pandyas is

described in the inscriptions as "the betrayed Sun to the hear-front -- the army of the Pallavas".

When Pulakēśi II undertook the southern expedition he besieged vanavāsi his army is spoken of as though 'covering the earth with the great 'sea' of his army to the looker on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water. After the subjugation of the Lātas, Malavas and Gurjaras the "feudatories subdued by force learnt how to behave. While ^{not} warring against Harsha Pulakēśi II looked" almost equal to Indra and possessed 3 of his Saktis--powers of mastery, good counsel and energy. "He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rules and by his noble birth and other excellent qualities acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārashtrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages."²³

That Pulakēśi II acquired the title of Paramēśvara²⁴ or 'Supreme Lord' is mentioned in the Maiderabad copper plate. The Gadval plates (line 6) of Vikramāditya I also refers to the surname Paramēśvara of Pulakēśi II.

Incidentally, we may attempt here a discussion of the title 'Paramēśvara', one of the distinguished titles of Pulakēśi II.

In about 632 A.D. Pulakēśi repelled effectively 'the attack on his dominions led in person by Harsha, the lord

Paramount of the north who aspired to the sovereignty of all India²⁵. Pulakēśi's triumph is described thus: Pulakēśi II the greatest of the Chalukya dynasty..... vied with Harṣa in the extent of his conquests and had raised himself to the rank of lord paramount of the south as Harṣa was of the north. The northern king, who could not willingly condure the existence of so powerful a rival essayed to overturn him, advancing in person to the attack with 'troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries'. But the effort failed. The king of the Deccan guarded the passes on the Narmada so effecting that Harṣa was constrained to retire discomfited and to accept the river as his frontier²⁶. It is in connection with this victory that Pulakēśi obtained over Harṣa that the term is associated with the highest title of Paramēśvara. The relevant portion reads as follows: Sakalettara Panthēśvara 'Sri Harṣavarādhana parājayopatta paramēśvara śabdah satyaśaraya Sri Prithvivallabha^hh'.

Before we could discuss whether the title Paramēśvara was obtained by Pulakēśi after his defeat of Harṣa or even before, it is worthwhile to point out that the event (i.e. defeating Harṣa) was acclaimed as the greatest feat of the valour and the military skill of an emperor of Karnātak, leading a 'Karnāta' army. According to a copper plate of Sanangad of 754 A.D. the Kannada army is praised as capable of Vanguishing Harṣa as well as other kings of the south

and Dantidurga of the Rastrakuta dynasty is said to have defeated such a formidable army, invincible^{ne} as it was²⁷. That this copper plate mentioned above praises Dantidurga who defeated Kirtivarma II the last of the early Chalukyas in A.D. 754 does not detract from the merit of the former Karnata army of 620 A.D. This reference throws a reflection, if at all, on the later Chalukya army which had either deteriorated and therefore, failed to maintain the very high military traditions of the time of Pulakesi II or could not cope with the stronger forces of Dantidurga, which also was Karnata, being the army of the Rastrakutas. In the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634 Pulakesi's VI's exploits have been praised thus:

Aparimita - Vibhūti - sphita - samenta - sena |
 makuta - mani - mayukhākkranta - padaravindah ||
 fudhi Patita - gaja (je) ndr - an ika - vi (bi)
 bhatsa - bhute |
 bhaya - vigalita - harshe yena ch - akari Harsah ||

After pointing out the importance of the military organisation of Pulakesi II, in the foregoing lines, let us comment on the assumption of the title 'Paramesvara' by Pulakesi II. The relevant portion of the Aihole inscription reads as follows:

"Samarasasakta sakalottara pathesvara |
 Sri Harsahvardhana para-jayopalabaddha ||
 Paramesvara Parnamadheyah" |

by ~~Pulakesi I~~. Reference to the title as having been received by Pulakesi is made in the Hyderabad grant of Pulakesi II. According to this inscription Pulakesi acquired the secondary name Paramēśvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles"²⁹. But the records of Pulakesi's successors say that he obtained the title "by defeating the glorious Harsa - Vardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north". Pulakesi II ascended the throne in A.D. 610-11. Harsa's date of accession is A.D. 606. Considering the gravity of the problems within the kingdom in the commencement of his reign, Pulakesi II went against Harsa, after defeating all his foes in the Deccan. This is also true of Harsa who turned his attention towards conquest of the Deccan after all his wars in Aryavarta were over. It is a point of interest to note here that the Aihole inscription which incidentally describes all the military exploits of Pulakesi does not make mention of the title 'Paramēśvara' as having been obtained by Pulakesi II, after his victory over Harsa. In fact the context in this record is most appropriate to mention the title. Therefore Pulakesi II assumed the imperial title of Paramēśvara after establishing peace within the kingdom and restoring Chālukya sovereignty in the territories of the neighbours. Subsequently the significance of the title was incorporated after his

victory over Paramēśvara Harṣavardhana. It is known that the victory over Harsha must have been earlier than A.D. 634-35 the date of Aihole inscription and also after 630 the date of Lehner Grant of Pulakēśi II. Dr. R.K. Mookerji says that 'Pulakēśi II obtained 'Paramēśvara' as a second title.'

We may now continue the achievements of the Chalukya army after the reign of Pulakēśi II. The Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I²⁹ also alludes to the title 'Paramēśvara' associated with Pulakēśi II. It says that the 'Dear son of Satryāsraya, Sri Prithvī-vallabha, Maharajādhirāja, Paramēśvara (who) acquired the surname of 'Supreme Lord' (Paramēśvara) by defeating the glorious Harṣavardhana the lord of Northern Country who had encountered (him in battle). Further the inscription speaks of the prowess of Vikramāditya I. Lines 11 refer to Vikramāditya, 'who at the head of many famous battles (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakēṭha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered the world by conquests of his own armies which resembled the coils of the surpent who carries the burden of the earth; into whose own armour many blows had plunged, who having gained for himself the royalty of his father which had been conceded by the triad of kings caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself alone)'.

after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter and after he had acquired the title of—'supreme Lord' (Paramēśvara). The Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I also describe him as a member of the Chālukya family and the destroyer of the Pallava lineage."

A copper plate grant of Vikramāditya I⁵⁰ describes him as one who was "borne by one horse of the breed called Chitrakantha 'speckled-throated' and having with his arm that was like the coils of the serpent who sustains the burden of the earth conquered those who were desirous of conquering him—through many blows fell upon his armour acquired for himself with his pure and sharp cruel sword that was inviolated by the elixir which consisted of tasting the blood of the honourable kings in the front of the ranks of many battle, the royalty of his father which had been interrupted by a confedency of three kings (discussed elsewhere in this Chapter) and who having effected the subordination of whose kingdom to one 'sovereign' re-established by his own (word of) mouth in order to increase the piety and fame, the grants which had been made to gods and Brahmins but had been destroyed by those three reigns and having conquered the hostile kings in the country in the van of war without any impediment the goddess of the fortunes of those of his lineage to possess the possession of supreme lordship.

Vikramāditya not only achieved the ruin of the Pallavas but "having shoulder that delighted in war and were glorious and of great strength he conquered that family of mighty wrestlers who were possessed of the title of "Royal Wrestler". Thus Vikramāditya restored the former prestige of his ancestral family by his victories over the Pallavas.

That Vinayāditya Satyāśraya restored peace and tranquillity in the dominions is evidenced by the Pogurshade copper plates, wherein it is stated that having "pleased his mind by bringing all countries into a state of quiet"³¹. Though the wording sounds eulogical the fact that Vinayāditya stroved hard to restore tranquillity after disturbance is an appreciable fact.

The Vakkaleri plates of Kīrthivarma II³², offer proofs regarding the valour and prowess shown by Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. His dear son Tārakarati, the Valēnduśekhara to the forces of the dāityas, so captured the proud army of Trairājya the king of Kāñchi, levier of tributes from the rules of Kaverā, Parasika, Sinhala and other islands; possessed of the Pālī^hwaja and all other marks of supreme wealth which by churning all the kings of the north he had won and increased', was Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, favourite of the Earth.....".

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Again the Vakkalari plates speak still more significantly on the military exploits of Vijayāditya Sathyaśraya. "His dear son having in youth acquired the use of all the weapons and accomplishments of a great king; uprooter of the clumps of thorns (springing up) among the kings of the south of whom his grand father was the conqueror; exceeding in valour in the business of war, his father who desired to conquer the north he surrounded the enemies and with his arrows destroyed their elephant forces; War his chief policy; which with his glad sword causing the hosts of his enemies to turn their backs, in the same manner as his father capturing from the hostile kings he had to put to flight the Ganga, Yamuna and Pall flags, the emblems of the great Bhakka, Drum, Rubies, and lusty elephants. With their difficulty stopped by destiny; by his valour exciting the country in remaining kings who cherished evil designs like: Vatsaraja; desiring not the assistance of another; in setting out and with his own arm conquering and subjugating the whole world, the Lords like Indra, by the three modes of policy, by breaking the pride of his enemies, by generosity and by his invincibility having become the refuge of the world, having acquired a kingdom resplendent with the Palidhwa and other tokens of all Supreme wealth was Vijayāditya Sathyaśraya.....".

Vinayāditya after completing the campaign brought the Pallavas, the Kalabhras, Haibayas, Vilas, Malavas, Cholas, Pandyas, to subjugate along with Āluvas and Ganges who were hereditary subjects and acquired the Palidhvaja and other royal insignias by crushing the Lord of all the Region of the North³³.

The Sorab Grant says of Vinayāditya³⁴, "who just as (the God) Sēnani (Kartikēya) at the command of (his father) the Balēndrasekhara (Śiva) arrested the power of the daityas at the command of his own father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas whose kingdom consisted of 3 component dominions....."

According to the Nerur Copper Plates, Vijayāditya at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the Lord of Kīnchi, whose kingdom consisted of three (components) dominions, just as Tārakarati (at the command) of his father Balēndrasekhara did arrest the power of the demons.³⁵

Vijayāditya defeated hostile forces in front of in the presence of his father and acquired the Ganga and Yamuna symbols, the Palidhvaja standard, double drum, Mahasabha badges, jewels, elephants and ^{other} articles which he presented to his father.

According to Lakṣmīśvar pillar inscription³⁶,
Vikramāditya II "clef open with the thunderbolt which
was his prowess the overwhelming precipitation of the
Pandya and Chola and Kerala and Kalabhra and other kings."

(vi) Six Forms of Policy:

According to Kauṣilya, 'the circle of States is the
source of the six-fold policy'. He further states that
there are six-forms of policy. They are, for instance
peace (saudhī) war (vigraha) observance of neutrality
(asana) marching (yāna) alliance (samśraya) and making
peace with one and waging war with another³⁷. The Chālukya
king, followed this generally accepted policy.

Pulakēśhi II pursued a policy of bhēda, won over
Govinda who became his ally and defeated and expelled
Appāyika. According to the Aihole inscription—Verse 17
out of the two invaders—who had come to conquer the
country north of the river Bhimarathi—Appayika and Govinda,
one was reuplised by Pulakēśhi II while the other was made
an ally. The relevant portion of the Aihole record
speaks as follows: "When having found the opportunity,
he who named Appāyika and Govinda approached with their
troops and elephants to conquer the country north of the
Bhimarathi the one in battle through his armies came to
know the taste of fear while the other at once received
the reward of the services rendered by him."

After the conquest of Vengi in the eastern campaigns of Pulakēśi II the Chālukya territories were divided between Pulakēśi II and Vishnuvardhana I, the sons of Kirthivarma I. Pulakēśi II retained the western territories and made Badami his headquarters. Vishnuvardhana was entrusted to be the ruler of the eastern territory with Vengi as the capital. This act on the part of Pulakēśi II exhibits his great foresightfulness and diplomacy.

Vikramāditya II who made a sudden incursion into the Pallava kingdom entered the city of Kāñchi but refrained from destroying its capital city. On the other hand, he gave much gold to many stone temples which had been built by Narasimhavarman. The Vokkalari plates affirm "Though he entered the Kāñchi he did not destroy it". This action proves his foresightfulness, magnanimity and conformity to righteous military code of warfare.³⁸

(vii) Pallava - Chālukya Relations:

The main objectives of Chālukya interstate policy, therefore were (1) expansion of dominions and (2) a bid for supremacy. Naturally these objectives led to their encountering the enemies surrounding them. The most powerful of the foes were the Pallavas of Kāñchi.

A few reasons may be given here for the antagonism which existed between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. Both the powers exerted themselves for establishing supremacy

over the Deccan. This is clear from the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II. Another cause of their enmity was that the Pallavas obstructed the rise of Chālukyas as a sovereign power. This resulted in never ending hostility between the two powers. The Gangas and the Kadāmbas (in early period) were to be defeated and brought into a friendly alliance. In this attempt it was the Chālukyas of Bādāmi who won phenomenal success. The Gangas and the Kadāmbas were the allies of the Pallavas in the earlier periods of rise of the Chālukyas. When the Chālukya kings after Kirtivarṇa I became supreme by their conquest of the Gangas and the Kadāmbas, the supremacy of the Pallavas broke down. Another more important consequence that followed was that the Ganga territories came over to the dominions of the Chālukyas and with such a transference of territories, the Pallavas became the immediate neighbours of the Chālukyas. Hence the antagonism between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas.

Further, the policy of befriending and establishing overlordship followed by the Chālukya kings led to their diversified relations of the Chālukya kings with other southern powers. The wars that followed during the reign of Pulakēśi II and after his death in the time of Vikramāditya I with the powers in the north had the most important objective of protecting the frontiers of the Chālukya dominions against formidable enemies like Haraśa.

In spite of the wars made by the Chālukyas either for self-preservation or expansion, they maintained enemical relationship only with the enemy kings and not with their subjects.

(viii) Wars with the Pallavas:

The Chālukyas fought several battles with the Pallavas, their natural enemy, for supremacy in the Deccan. After the foundation of an independent kingdom by Pulakēśi I, the Chālukyas fought many battles to get possession of the debated frontier, which became marked since the reign of Pulakēśi II. Pulakēśi defeated the Pallava king Mahendra Varma I, compelled him to take shelter in the ramparts of Kāñchi and penetrated into the heart of the kingdom but did not besiege Kāñchi. Although what actually happened after this event is not clear, Mahendra Varma subsequently defeated Pulakēśi I in the battle of Pallaluru. The Kāñkēdi Plates of Narasimha Varman Pallavamalla mention the battle of Pallaluru near Kāñchi, and represents Mahendra Varman I as having defeated his 'chief enemies' namely, the Chālukyas of Badami. After this defeat Pulakēśi is stated to have crossed the river Kāveri and made friendship with the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas with the object of provoking them to fight against the Pallavas. The Pallavas suffered isolation for sometime. But Pulakēśi probably could not cross the river Kāveri without

leaving a large part of his army on the banks so as to ensure him protection. The Pallavas tried to stop the march of Pulakēśi but were dispersed. Pulakēśi returned to his capital after completing the military exploits in the east after A.D. 531 as is indicated by the Kopperan¹ plates. Pulakēśi indisputably became the master of all the regions between the sea of Arabia and the Bay of Bengal. In other words he became the lord of the eastern and western waters as is evidenced by the Lāhner grants of A.D. 530.

It may be apt here to cite the observation of Dr. Sircar here. He says that Pulakēśi's attack on the kingdom ~~on the kingdom~~ of Pallava Mahēndravarma I was only a phase of the struggle between the dominant powers on the two sides of the Tungabhadra which appears to have characterized the history of the country in all ages prior to the British occupation of India³⁹. Information of such a struggle before the days of the Ghālukyas is meagre; but from the time of Pulakēśi II and Mahēndravarma I it continued with intervals for many centuries even long after it led to the overthrow of both the dynasties."

Success of Pulakēśi II against the Pallavas was only shortlived. In about A.D. 542 he was defeated by the Pallava king Navasinhavarma I. The latter led an invasion to Vātāpi in retaliation of Pulakēśi's invasion

earlier. Narasimhavarma captured Vātāpi. Pulakēsi was defeated at the battles of Pariyāla, Maninangalaṭ, Surawara and other plates. Bādāmi was destroyed. Narasimhavaran took the title 'Vātāpi konda' and received the surname Mahānalla.

The Togurshade copper plate⁴⁰ informs us how Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I maintained the military character and supremacy of his predecessors and proved successful in bringing all countries into a state of quiet.

Vinayāditya's son Vijayāditya, even as a boy participated in the southern campaign of his grand father when his father defeated the lord of Uttarāpatha. Vijayāditya captured the Ganga, Yamuna, Palidhvaja, Dhakka and other musical instruments.

Vikramāditya II led a campaign into Tanduka Vishaya to extinguish the "Natural Enemy"⁴¹ the Pallavas. He seized the Kankamuka, Samudra Chōsa, Musical instruments, the Khatvānga Dhvaja from Nandi Pōtavarman. He entered Kāñchi, the Pallava Capital without destroying it. Besides, he gave plenty of gold to several stone temples which had been built by Narasimha Varman. He is said to have defeated the Pandya, the Chera and Kerala and Kalabhara Kings and established a Pillar of victory near the southern sea.

The Vokkaleri grant of Kirtivarma II lends support to Vikramaditya's magnanimous action of not destroying Kanchi in (re)labiasin of Harasimhavarman's policy a few years before. The policy adopted by Vikramaditya II bears ample testimony to the fact that he believed and made wars on righteous principles.

Kirtivarma II even as a crown prince having his object to distinguish himself by some warlike exploit sought permission of his father to lead his army into Kāñchi. The war launched by Vikramaditya I in the previous period had only reduced but not crushed the Pallava power. No sooner did Kirtivarma enter Kāñchi than the Pallava Prince took shelter in a hill fort. Kirtivarma left the Pallava fort and plundered his forces and wealth. He carried off elephants, rubies and gold which were given to his father. The relevant portion of the Vokkaleri plates describes Kirtivarma's process. It reads: "His dear son perfect in wisdom and reverence his sword his only aid making his own the wealth which his father alone mounted simply on his splendid horse named Chitrakantha and desiring to conquer all regions, had won, together with that inherited for 3 generations, rejoicing in splitting with the thunderbolt of his valour, the mountains the Pandya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra and other kings from the sky to their base great king of kings, supreme lord and sovereign"⁴².

Thus, the wars between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas were ceaseless and as such both the powers were always vigilant of the frontiers and ready for warfare.

(1x) Trairājya Pallava:

After tracing the Pallava-Chalukya relations we may make a short discussion of the term 'Trairājya Pallava'. The term is mentioned in the copper plate grant of Vikramāditya I and Dayamādinne plates of Vinayāditya. The word 'Tritaya' in the first inscription denotes "a collection of three, or some confederacy that was formed against Vikramāditya I. Probably the reference is to the 3 kings of Chola, Pandya, and Kerala, who, as we learn from the inscriptions of Vinayāditya were conquered by Vikramāditya I. Or the reference may be to the Trairājya Pallavas whose kingdom consisted of the chief dominions which were conquered by Vinayāditya at the command of his father⁴³.

The Dayamādinne plates of Vinayāditya states that he captured Kāñchīpura after defeating the Pallava king who had become the cause of disgrace to his family, subdued the three kings (Dharani Dharāshraya), Pandya, Chola and Kerala and made the inexorable pallava bow to his feet. Vikramāditya's own records however are unanimous in proclaiming that he acquired for himself, the fortune of his father which had been concealed by (the confederacy) of three kings (Avanipathithraya) and defeated the enemy

kings in country after brave resistance. The Gadval plates of his 20th year (A.D. 674) add that he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava Narasimha varma, Mahendra Varman and Iwarapotha Varman and ceased to be at their capital Kañchīpura. Thus, a few scholars observe that "the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kañchi Pura being common in both the accounts, the confederacy of three kings mentioned in the epigraphs of Vikramaditya must evidently refer to the Pandya, Chola and Kerala, given in the son's record." But Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that the three princes were Pallava Narasimha Varma, Mahendra Varma and Iwarapotha Varma which is untenable.

It is impossible in the scheme of Pallava Chronology to suppose that Narasimha Varman and Mahendra Varman had died and Parameswara Varman's rule had⁴⁴ already commenced by A.D. 655 in which year Vikramaditya had acquired his hereditary provinces after subduing the confederacy. According to all authorities on Pallava Chronology, Narasimha Varman's reign alone extended by beyond A.D. 655. As stated above, Vikramaditya recovered his territory from the Pallavas, which fact leads to suppose that the Chālukya territory was not in possession of the Pallavas by A.D. 655. The Pallava grants clearly state that Narasimhavarman defeated Pulakesi II in the battles of Pariyāla, Manimāṅgala and Sūramāra and destroyed Vātāpi. He also took the title "Vātāpikonda" as is mentioned in

a rock inscription at Badami. This event is supposed to have taken place after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuentzang to the Court of Pulakesi II in about A.D. 643. It is not possible to guess under what circumstances the Pallava hold was displaced and the three confederacies occupied the Chalukya country in the intervening period.

It is not also possible that soon after the occupation of Vatapi by Narasimha Varman I after A.D. 642 the Pandya, Chola and Kerala kings who were biding a favourable opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted upon them by the Pallava monarch (Kurram Plates), joined themselves into a confederacy and after subduing the Pallavas whose resources had probably been exhausted in their conflicts with the Chalukya army marched as far as north as Vatapi, shattered the Pallava hold on it and finally took possession of the Chalukya territory.

Scholars are divided in their opinion on the significance of ^aThirirajya Pallava. Dr. Fleet, Prof. Kiel-Horn, and Prof. Krishna Sastri say that they represent the South Indian powers, Pandya, Chola and Kerala. Dr. Dubrioul is of the opinion that the three kings were Pallava, Pandya and Sinhala Manavamma⁴⁵. The name Manavamma is not given in 'Mahavansha' and much less ^{he} is ^{ed} joining the Pallavas at this juncture. So Sinhala or Ceylon is to be excluded. The defeat of three powers by Vinayaditya must

have taken place after A.D. 674 because this event is not mentioned in Gadval plates. After the victorious campaign of the Chalukya king into the Pallava and Chola country in that year, the Pallava king Paramēśvara Varman must have mustered his forces and sought the assistance of the Chola and other two powers of south India in order to give a crushing blow to their common enemy, Vikramāditya I. The combined forces of these four powers, entered Chalukya territory and probably sacked and captured the city of Panarasika on this occasion. Vinayāditya routed them in A.D. 678-679 when he was nominated to the throne as is clearly indicated by his Jejuri plates and Togarchedu Grants.

Section III: Inter State Relations in Times of Peace

After making a survey of the broad features of Inter State relations relating to Chalukya kings in times of war, we may take up a study of their inter state relations in times of peace. They maintained political relations with neighbours and effected an exchange of embassies also.

It is already noted that the main feature of inter-state policy of Chalukya kings in war times was that they regarded their neighbours as their enemies and attempted to bring about their destruction. If the kings felt that the enemies on the frontier could not be

destroyed, they were to be befriended. If the neighbours became hostile, their neighbours on the other side would be regarded as fit to subdue them. An important result of this policy with neighbours was that the frontier would become secure without much effort. It may also be mentioned here that the kings obtained through information regarding attitude of neighbours from secret spies. The spies also conveyed information to the kings just before declaration of war against the enemy kingdom. At this stage of declaring war the kings informed their neighbouring neutral states of the war that would be declared so that they could keep on their guard and prevent them from falling in live^{ly} with the enemy. Such a policy was intended to deprive the enemy of their support.

(1) Diplomatic Agents

Whenever it was felt necessary the kings sent diplomatic agents to foreign countries to carry out "particular business of a special nature"⁴⁶. The duties of diplomatic agents were highly responsible. The maintenance of friendly relations between states, the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace between them were all in the hands of the diplomatic agents. The agents were expected to possess very high qualifications and were to be men of learning and have a commanding personality. They were also to be ^{consequences} consequences, loyal and devoted. Their importance was so much that it would

be possible to convert even an enemy king to a friend by persuasion and honouring them. There were three kinds of missions and the persons of the ^{ambassadors} ambassador was regarded as inviolable. 'Duta' was one who conveyed the message of his master and so should not be punished.

(ii) Dispatch of embassies:

The kings also maintained friendly relations with foreign countries and sent embassies to them, the purpose being to make acquaintance with them or to renew and strengthen old friendships.

Just as the Pallava kings sent embassies to Chinese country, the Chalukyas in A.D. 692 sent an embassy to China from their country at Vatapi.⁴⁷

Pulakesi II received an embassy from Shah Rukh of Persia as is clear from a panel of sculptures at Ajanta in which the Chalukya king is represented to receive the embassy from the Persian king⁴⁸.

(iii) Relation with Feudatories:

We have already described that several feudatory states existed in the Chalukya dominions. The Chalukya kings did not annex the territories of a king defeated by him, but allowed his state an autonomous existence under their overlordship. Details governing the

relations between the central government and the feudatory states have been described in Chapter III.

The policy of permitting the defeated kings to rule as feudatories "protected vested interests and favoured local autonomy". But there were instances of feudatories who always attempted to throw off imperial authority and therefore the central government had to keep a vigilant watch over their actions and intentions so as to minimize instability in the dominions.

Section III: Military organisation

(1) Traditions

It must be said at the outset that details available on the subject are insufficient to complete the picture. The four components of the army known as satranga in ancient India viz., foot, horse, elephant, and chariot were common in ancient Karnatak and in the early centuries of the Christian era⁴⁹. The use of the chariot in the later period is doubtful since it is quite evident by its absence in the temple sculptures of the period. Even Hiuen-Tsang who described the Chālukya army in some detail refers to elephants, but not to chariots. The relevant portion of his account reads thus: "The king, proud of possessing these men and

elephants, despoils and ^{by} ~~slights~~ the neighbouring kingdoms⁸⁰. This statement indicates that infantry and elephants formed the most prominent and powerful components of the Karnatak army". Another important arm that was used during the time of Mangalasa and ^{Kirti Varma II} was the fleet which is described subsequently in this Chapter.

The traditions of army organisation in regard to the officers, training and equipment set up in ancient India have more or less influenced the organisation of the Chalukya army also. From the history of the Chalukyas it is clear that their army fought several wars and battles against their enemies. They also won success in many of their wars. Therefore, there was a systematic organisation of their army, without which their victories in wars and battles were impossible. The commander in-chief was called 'Senadhipati' or more commonly Dandanāyaka. We have already pointed out that the office of the Dandanāyaka denoted both military and civil rank so that the general of the army was usually the minister of the State and sometimes a chief feudatory. The higher officers of the military department were assisted by minor officers holding certain portfolios.

Officers like ^H Mahasandhi Vighrahika, Dandanāyaka, Mahadandanāyaka, who served the king and composed several grants find their names mentioned in the inscriptions.

For instance, the charter of Vinayāditya, 8.682 recording a gift of a land to Madhavaswami of Bharadwaja Gōtra was written by Punyavaliabha, son-in-law of Mahāsīdhivīgrāhika Sri Jayasī^{ena}haraja. The name of Pettani Satyāka a general is mentioned in Gaddemane inscriptions⁵². The crown prince was usually next in command. This fact finds mention in several records. According to Lakshmeshwar inscriptions, Vinayāditya's son Vijayāditya, even in his boyhood "fought in the southern in campaigns of his grand father, when his father defeated the lord of Uttarapatha. He captured the Ganga, Yomuna, Palidhwaja, Pathala, Dhakka and other musical instruments.

Fighting was conducted on fair principles and satisfied tenets of a Dharma Vijaya. Civilians were not molested.

The king usually led the Army in times of grave necessity. In other times the Dandanāyaka and his subordinates led the king's forces.

The technique of warfare in historical Karnataka makes a clear progress from simple ways to highly complex methods of fighting. The simplest form was the open encounter on the battle field with the help of the three or four constituents of the army. The arms used were also simple like the shield spears, bows and arrows. In course of time and particularly from a slightly later period

than that of the western Chalukyas, a knowledge of 'Vyūha' or array became common. Details of the military array of the period of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi ^{and}, unfortunately not forthcoming.

(ii) Recruitment of Soldiers

From a general study of the set up it may be concluded that a special village militia existed in addition to the standing army. The Chalukya kings were able to make successful campaigns by collecting such a large army.

Recruitment of soldiers was made out of the able-bodied who were known for their indomitable courage and who voluntarily offered themselves to military services. One class of such people called 'Talavāra' also constituted the army and was known as 'Swantha Pade'⁵³. A large portion of the rest of the army consisted of "federal levies" by feudatory chieftains because they had been recognised as rulers by the central government.

As mentioned already, the Chalukya military force was organised into infantry, cavalry and elephants. In addition to these the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II speaks of the six fold constituents of the army, i.e. Shadvidha balam; viz., Hereditary troops (Maula' mercenary (bhrta) belonging to guilds (Grāmi), those of an ally (Mitra), those of an enemy (Amitra), and forest tribes.

Naturally, the Chālukya kings mobilised the available types of soldiers and strengthened their army before the declaration of war with their enemies.

(iii) Divisions of the Army: Elephants and Horses:

Elephants symbolised royal Paraphernalia and were used in war also. Generals and leaders of armies rode on elephants and fought against their foes. Elephants were used to carry and transfer large number of soldiers. Says Jordanus about the elephants, "This animal carrieth easily upon him, with a certain structure of timber more than thirty men and he is a most gentle beast and trained for war so that a single animal counteth by himself equal in war to 1,500 men and more; for they bind to his tusks blades or maces of iron wherewith he smiteth. Most horrible are the powers of this beast and specially in war. There is nothing that either can or dare stand against the assault of an elephant in any manner. The use of elephants is well borne out by the account of Hiuen-Tsang and specialisation of Gajasasāstra by Chālukya kings and appointment of officers to look after them. The elephant troops formed an efficient force among the Pallavas also.⁵⁴

(iv) Weapons:

The Arthasastra⁵⁵ speaks of weapons to be stored in the canals constructed in a fort. They were stone,

spades (Kuddala), axes (Kuthari) varieties of staffs, Cudgels (Mueruthi), hammers (Madgara) Clubs, discuses, machines (Yantra) and such weapons as can destroy a hundred persons at once (sataghu^v) together with spears, trident^ts, bamboo sticks with pointed edges made of iron, Camel necks, explosives (agni san^{4c} 70 gas) and whatever else can be devised from available materials. Swords, Kaigatti, Khadga, Katti, Billu, Ambu and Kodali were a few of the weapons which the Chalukya soldiers made use of during a battle. This fact is borne out by the sculptural images on the walls of the temple of this period at Pattadakal and also sculpture in cave no. 1 at Badami. Even the royal deity of Banashankari where Shrine exists at Badami is symbolic of warfare and success in war and she is ^{represented} separated as holding certain weapons also.

(v) Horses: Chitrakantha

Among the 4 divisions of the army the cavalry constituted an effective division. It was customary from the hoary past to make a selection of horses for the purpose of warfare and victory. The Arthashastra mentions the features of the best horse. For instance 'the face (mukha) of the best horse measures 32 angulas, its length is 5 times its face, its shank is 20 angulas and its height is 4 times its shank. Other features are also

mentioned.⁵⁶ Hindu kings were particular of auspicious nature of horses. Such a good horse indicates success and prosperity to the king. As selection of a horse was made in the light of the certain features which it was to possess, it may be concluded that Chitrakantha also must have possessed the required marks and qualities. Mr.M.J. Walhouse enumerates the external marks of a perfect Hindu Horse, while assessing the value of the horse in relation to the owner--whether it would bring luck or not. "A perfect Hindu horse should have the 4 hoofs, the head and the tail, all white"⁵⁷ (Jytyashava). Its hair curls (suris) should be inward. "There should be 4 such curls on the head, 2 on the breast and 2 on each side, one on the back of the neck and the other in the hollow of the neck. Instances of a good and auspicious horse are not lacking. Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander was noted for strength and bravery. It was this horse which fell during the battle between Alexander and Porus for which Alexander mourned the loss. The horse was called Bucephalus from the width of his forehead; he was an excellent War Horse and always used by Alexander in his fights. Similarly, the horse which finds mention in several records of the Chalukyas was Chitrakantha⁵⁸ - a typical one.

According to Vokkaleri Plates of Kirtivarman Second of A.D. 629, Vikramaditya I, who succeeded Pulakesi II

recovered the wealth lost to the kingdom, captured the three kings and vanquished Chola, Pandya, Kerala and Kalabhra and humbled the pride of the King of Kāñchi with the help of his favourite horse called ^{by} the name 'Chitrakantha'. The relevant portion of the record reads as follows:

Chitrakantha bhidāna pravara turangame
naikenaivotsa dita śeśha vijagishar
avanipati tritay^āantarita svagurō -
Sri Yam atma...."

He drove away the troops of elephants of his enemies and by a very lion of a horse that was named Chitrakantha".⁵⁹

According to the Nerur Grant (line 10)-- it is stated that "His dear son was Vikramāditya, who was conversant with the art of Government, whose only aid was his sword, who was desirous of conquering all people whom he drove before him by means of only one horse of the breed called - Chitrakantha..."⁶⁰

Several inscriptions of the Western Chalukya kings refer to the fact that the kings rode on the back of the choice horse known as Chitrakantha, defeated enemies in many battles, killed them by the sword and acquired title like 'Avanipati Tritayantarita' and thus ruled the dominions in prosperity.

Vikramāditya I "borne by one horse of the breed called Chitrakantha (speckled throat) and having with his arm that was like the coils of the Serpent" fell upon his enemies.⁶¹

According to Tālamānchi plates, Vikramāditya I fought in battle with the sole aid of the horse known as Chitrakantha. "He who at the head of many famous battles (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakantha and by the edge of (his) glittering spotless and sharp sword fought against the Pallavas"⁶².

Several inscriptions of the Western Chalukya kings refer to the fact that the kings rode on the back of the choice horse known as Chitrakantha, defeated enemies in many battles, killed them by the sword and acquired title like 'Avanipati, Tritayantarita' and thus ruled the dominions in prosperity.

The name 'Chitrakantha' came to symbolise all the horses which had the features of Vikramāditya I's horse 'Chitrakantha' and almost came to indicate a breed by themselves. It is doubtful whether it was the name of a horse or belonged to a breed of horses bearing that name⁶³.

Kirtivarma also utilised the horse of the breed of Chitrakantha. He "mounted simply on his splendid horse named Chitrakantha and desiring to conquer all the regions."

(vi) Navy:

Besides the Infantry, Cavalry and elephant forces mentioned above, the Chālukya kings like the Pallavas also maintained the fleet of ships and knew the art of Naval warfare. Although inscriptions do not refer to any Naval battle, in detail, one or two epigraphs indicate that they knew the art of Naval warfare⁶⁴. A copper plate grant from Miraj (Satara) and a stone inscription of Yevur temple in Sholapur State that Mangalēśha crossed the ocean by a bridge of boats and plundered the island of Rāvathi on the Rathāgiri Coast. Rāvathi Dweepa has been equated by some scholars with Goa. Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that Rāvathi island is not Goa. It may be accepted from a knowledge of the inscriptions that the island of Rāvati was Goa or nearby it. According to the Aihole inscription, Cōvinda is said to have come in ships by way of the sea from the north and that Pulakēśi II was assisted to defeat him by some sea-faring allies dwelling on the western coast. He also reduced Puri with the help of 100 vessels. Puri is near Elephanta in the North of South India. It is stated "when he who resembled the destroyer of cities was besieging the cities which was the Goddess of Fortune of the Western Ocean with hundreds of ships that had resemblance to elephants made with passion, the sky which covered with masses of clouds became like the ocean and the ocean was like the sky. Again Kirthivarma II is

described to have gone to Ceylon, under his control, with the help of war boats.⁶⁵

(vii) Musical Instruments:

Generally the following musical instruments⁶⁶ were being used in a war: as accompaniments and to inspire courage, confidence and a spirit of heroism among soldiers. They were: Kombu, Kahale, Nissala, Tappala, Dolu, Davude, Pore, Shēri, Dhundubī, Kantavare, Dhakka, Mrudanga and Gambaka. The musical notes and the songs provided the much required bravery and confidence to the soldiers in a war.

(viii) Military Array

From a general study of the art of warfare, it may be concluded that without a proper and systematic organisation of the army, the Chalukya forces could not have won several battles recounted in their inscriptions. In addition to a proper organisation, strategy in war was also adhered to. By strategy, the army took advantage of vulnerable points of the enemy and gained a victory.

Fighting took place between soldier and soldiers, elephants and horses. A normal feature of warfare was the division of the army in the regiments or units, each commanded by a general. Several divisions were arrayed to form a Vyūha. Although clear descriptions are not

forthcoming in the Chalukya records we may conclude that the army was arranged in a very regular and systematic manner to exhibit efficiency and win a victory. The war which took place between Pulakēśi II and Mahēndravarmān and later on war with Harsha were organised on the Vyūha principle.

(ix) Forts and Fortifications:

According to the Arthasastra defensive fortifications in all the four quarters of the frontiers of the kingdom should be constructed. For this purpose particularly in war various types of forts are suggested - one of them is called Parvata which is a ^umountainous fortification. A ^umountainous and water fortification is said to be the best suited to defend popular ^{centres} centres.

The Chalukyas were noted to have adopted the traditional method of building forts. In ancient times the need and protection of forts required maintenance of troops in fortresses. They were to be always guarded by sentinels, stray bastions with loop holes and ditches."⁷² Hence forts were considered absolutely essential to station troops. Cities particularly the capital were heavily fortified. In the frontier regions large forests were allowed to grow to check the enemies from laying siege all on a sudden and to prevent foreign invaders by keeping

garrisons in the frontier of the kingdom. Usually a subordinate vassal was placed in charge of frontier regions.

Bādāmi was a strong hill fort. Ptolemy in his Geography mentions it as 'Badiap^maei'. The situation of the city in the midst of rocky hills on its North and South and at the mouth of a riverine and west of a dam at the foot steps of the hills making a large reservoir in between them provided greater security from the enemies. The city of Bādāmi was well protected by natural frontiers like the mountains in the north and the river of Malaprabha in the south. It is described as a "hill-sum-land"⁶⁶, fort. From very early times, that is, Pulakēsi I Bādāmi was a strong hold. The city was located between 2 hills and had 2 Forts one on each hill. The fort in the northern hill comprised of a bastioned wall encircling the town and on a level with the plain safe-guarded by 2 small but strong forts on the hills. The southern fort was called the Bāvan Mandakote, or Battle Field. The northern fort was called the Bāvan Bānde Kote. The two forts were separated by about 900'. Each fort was about 240' high above the plain. The two forts were existing till 1845 when they were dismantled. They have been described as "walled city defended on the north and south by 2 forts, on the east by stone and mud walls with loopholed parapets and on the west by bastioned stone and mud walls with a

loop-holed parapet and a deep but broad, ditch. There was only one entrance through strongly defended gateways⁶⁹.

The north fort was about 900' long constructed on separate steep rocks cut by narrow chasms into independent portions. From a distance the fort looked as though built of masonry. Formerly it had bastions of various sizes and at regular intervals and connected by masonry loop-holed walls. The steps to the fort was built of masonry and inwinding shape. Inner side of the fort at the fort at the top was bare, uneven and rocky.

The fighters knew siege-craft. They knew that "in the absence of food, fuel, and water a fort is no better than a prison house"⁷⁰ Forts would contain weapons of war stores, Sand, (Arrows with fire brands fixed to their points and were used in the battle). Stones were hurled and hot oil was poured on those who approached the walls of the city.

The construction of the fort was made according to the principles mentioned in old Sanskrit works like Dēvipurāṇa and Brahmasaivaivārtha purāṇa.

Often times the massive size of the fort walls gave a wrong idea of security because the people entirely relied on the strength of the fort.

The Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II speaks of strategic terms like 'giridurga'⁷¹ and 'Jala Durga'⁷². Hence the knowledge and technique of construction of forts on hillocks and surrounded by water for purely military and strategic points of view were known in that period.

The organisation of ancient Indian armies has been described in its outlines by Mr. Gustav Oppert. He observes that "the division of the army into a veteran reserve and young live troops is remarkable. The same can be said of the facts according to which war ought to be conducted. The maxim of the dharma, yuddha, bring to memory the days of chivalry existing during the middleages"⁷³. A striking event illustrating this attitude of the Chalukya king is available in the inscriptions on war of Vaikunta Perumal temple. It is stated therein that Vikramaditya I captured Kanchi. But ^{he} did not destroy or burn the city (as a mark of revenge shown by the Pallava king Narasimhaverman I in the last days of Pulakesi II's reign). On the other hand Vikramaditya I gave large donations to the Rajasimheswara temple at Kanchi.

(x) Vietorious military camps: [ViTayaSkāndavāras]

It was customary for the kings to hold camps either for the purpose of administration or making arrangements for conduct of a battle or looking to security of frontier

regions or issuing grants of land. Among such camps it is apt here to attempt a survey of victorious military camps held by different kings of the Chalukya dynasty. Generally the kings encamped in the vicinity of a place of battle where the army gained a victory. (11)

In A.D. 674 Vikramaditya encamped at Uragapura in the Chōlika Vishya to the south of river ^{Kāveri} saurya as his evidenced by Gadval plates.⁶⁸

Vinayaditya in the 10th year of his reign celebrated some victory while encamped on the banks of the river Pampa in the neighbourhood of Rishya meekha and Fungabhadra in which Vinayaditya's camp⁷⁴ was pitched at the time of making this grant and as to the part of the country that had been just reduced by him. The names of villages are mentioned in line 28. That Vinayaditya encamped at the village of Bhādali near Palavattana is mentioned in the Jejuri plates⁷⁵.

According to a stone tablet at Lakshmeshwar about 40 miles South-east of Dharwar dated 668 the 7th year of the reign of Vinayaditya, he held his victorious camps at the city of Raktapura (Puligere) (Pulika ranagara) or (Purigere)⁷⁶.

A copper plate grant from Tongurshade in Kurnool district dated 669, says that Vinayaditya held in the 10th

year of his reign his victorious camp on the bank of the river Pampa or the Tungabhadra.⁷⁷

Another copper plate grant from Kurnool dated 691, says that he held in the 11th year of his reign his victorious camp at the city of Elupundale.⁷⁸

Similarly a copper plate grant from Sorab in Mysore dated 692, says that he held his victorious camp at the village of Chitrasedu in the Torvur or Torman country in the 13th year of his reign.⁸²

A copper plate grant from Harihar in Mysore dated 694, says that Vinayaditya held his victorious camp at the village of Karanjapetra grama near Hareahpur, perhaps Harihar in the 14th year of the reign.⁷⁹

One or two of the grants may be cited to illustrate the importance of military camps of Vinayaditya. For instance the Togurshade inscription states that in the 10th year of his victorious he held a reign camp on the Bank of the Pampa (river or lake)⁸⁰, and made a grant to Shimasarma⁸⁴ who was proficient in all the sacred writings etc.

The Kurnool Copper Plate informs us that⁸¹ "at the time of making this grant he (Vinayaditya) was encamped at the village of Elupundale and the principal grant was of the village of Masuniparu. This village was somewhere on the north bank of the Krishnavarna that is Krishna after

its confluence with the Verna (Near Satara at Khedrapur in Kolhapur territory. This grant was made at the request of Vinayāditya's son Vijayāditya who at the time was holding the post of Yuvarāja and who succeeded his father on the throne.

After the celebration of some victory gained by Vinayāditya - Saka 617 or 616 years having elapsed, in the 14th year of his reign he encamped at the village of Karañjapātra near the city of Nareśhapura in the neighbourhood of Banavāsi and made a grant of a village of Kirakagamasī or the smaller Kagonasī in the Edovelal division and in Vanavāsi district. The grant was made at the request of Alupa Rāja who was probably the hostile king just subjugated by Vinayāditya.

The Sorab grant was issued after the celebration of victory and is dated Saka 615 and the camp was held at the village of Chitrasedu in the district of Toravara or Toramana. The grant was made at the request of the Great King Sri Chitrapada the son of Upendra of the village of Gathivoge in Edovelal division and near Vajrayanti or Vanvāsi⁸².

A copper plate grant of Vinayāditya records a grant at the request of the king of the Alupas and seems to have been made to celebrate a victory over that family.

It is dated S. 676 or A.D. 695 in the 14th year of his reign....⁸³ "The relevant portion of the record reads as follows: "His son Vinayaditya Satyāśraya.....who having at the command of his father (was) like Bharatha on account of his being the refuge of kings and by whom the Pallavas, the Kalbhras, the Keralas, the Haihayas, the vilas, the Malavas, the Gulas the Pandyas and others were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Aluvas (Alupas) and the Gangas and others who were hereditary (servants of him) thus issued his commands to all people: "The grant is about the village of Kagmasi in Edevotal Division."⁸⁴

Vijayaditya held his victorious camps at Rāsenanagara (Rasin in Ahmadnagar), another perhaps in the Konkan as is given in a copper plate grant from Nerur and at Raktapur as is mentioned in a stone tablet at Lakshmeswar, and it was from Rasenapura that he issued the Nerur plates. This victorious camp was held in the 'first year of the king'. The Nerur plates of the same king issued in his 4th year is also issued from the victorious camp of Rāsenanagara. This means that the king had either visited the place twice, once in his first year and again in the 4th year or he had made the place an alternative capital, at least for 4 years as is evidenced from the records issued in the first and 4th year of his reign⁸⁵.

The stone tablet of Vijayāditya from the Sankhastī temple of Lakshmeshwar (second part) records that "Six centuries and 51 of the Saka year having expired on the full-moon of the month plavana, while his victorious camp was at the city of Raktapura, he gave the village of Kardama on the south of the town of Pulakara to his father's Priest Hdaya deva Pandita, also called Niravadya Pandita - who was the house pupil of Sri.Pujya Pade and belonged to the Devagana sect of the Mula sangha lineage for the benefit of the temple of Sanka Jinendra at the city of Pulikara"⁸⁶. The third and the fourth part mentioned grant of land to Jayadeva and to Periyaswamy respectively.

The Nerur plates of Vijāditya Saka 622 A.D. 700-1 of the 4th year of his reign was issued from his victorious camp at city of Rasenanagara. It records the grant of the village of Nerur itself bounded on each side by the villages of Bella Valligrama and Sahanyapura. (Ballevalligrama considered to be the modern wallawol to the west of Nerur)⁸⁷.

Vikramāditya II held the victorious camp at Raktapura as is evidenced by a stone tablet at Lakshmeshwar; ~~Buddhavarsha his brother is also stated to have held a camp at Pinakagrama.~~

The Narayana charter of Vikramāditya II dated 743 A.D. records the grant of a village in the Ratnagiri District by the Chālukyas king at the request of his subordinate

Rashtrakuta Govindaraja who was the son of Bhivaraja. The charter was issued when the king was camping at Adityavatika (Aitavada in Satara district). The Chief was probably governing the Satara, Ratnagiri region⁸⁰.

The third part of a Ganga inscription of Narasimha Deva, Saka 890 issued, shows that it was issued from his victorious camp at Raktapura⁸⁰. During the camp the king made a grant for the establishment of a temple called Sankatirtha - basti and for the repair of a Jinalaya etc.

An inscription published by Mr. Rice records that the Vikramaditya II made an expedition into the Tundakavishya or Tondaimandalam, defeated the Pallava king Mandipeta-varman and entered Conjeevaram, where he gave heaps of gold to the stone temple called Rajasimhesvara which had been burnt by Narsimha Potavarman and to other temples also. Before entering the Pallava region the king must have held a camp on the frontier.

Keertivarma II held his camps at the village of Bhandaragavittage⁸¹ or Santaregovittage on the North Mysore; another camp at Raktapura, erected a pillar of victory in Vijayeswar Temple after returning from Hrishanikahara vishaya. The relevant portion relating to the camp reads as follows:

In the 11th year of the increase of our victorious camp stationed at the village Bhandaragavittage on the northern bank of the Bhimarathi river, on the full moon day of Bhadrapada, on the application of Sri Desiraja is given to Madhava Sharma, the son of Krishna Sharma and grand son of Sri Vishnu Sharma of the Kamahayana Gotra, versed in Rig and Yajur Vedas together with Nerigiyur and Sandi, the village named Sulliyur, situated in the Panungal district on the southern bank of the Aradore river, in the midst of the villages of Tamranuge, Panungal, Kiruvalli and Balavoeru⁸².

Thus the camps of the Chalukya kings were either for arrangements to be made before and during the battle or a victorious camp after the battle or for announcing land gifts, as is clear from their several inscriptions.

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CHAPTER V

LAND ADMINISTRATION - LAND REVENUE - TAXATION - COINAGE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Section I: Land Administration

Land and its proper management, as it is true of the present day, constituted a very important aspect of administration. Inscriptions provide some light on the ownership of land, land-tenure, kinds of land, revenue, taxation and other allied matters.

(1) Ownership of Land

There was a general belief in ancient times that the king (= state) held the ownership of all land including cultivable one. According to Manusmṛiti^m the "king was the owner of the treasures buried underground, because he was the owner of land"¹. According to Bhattacharya, the commentator on the Arthashastra it is stated that "Private ownership can have no application in the case of land, tanks and water pools"². This belief has been supported by even foreign ^{writers} ~~workers~~ like Diodorus. Again according to an Indian account, namely, the Pūrvaśāstra "a king cannot dispose of the lands of private individuals, where he is called upon to gift away all

his possessions in charity at the end of certain sacrifices"³. These evidences are enough to show that the king was the owner of all public and private lands in theory. However, in practice we are to point out as stated by Kauṣilya, Mārada and Nīlakaṇṭha that "although an emperor is the lord of the entire earth, the ownership in different fields belongs to their several private owners and not to the state"⁴. Hence the differentiation in land administration between crown lands and private lands came up since the 6th century B.C.

In this regard it may also be convenient to point out that in pre-historic times ownership in land was regarded as vested in the whole community. This theory of communal ownership of lands has continued in modern times as far as state's claim to turn out land owners who do not pay the land tax which is similar to that of the landlord to evict a tenant who does not pay the house-rent. This implies clearly state's ownership in land. In addition to this implication, the state continues to be the owner of waste-lands, forests and mines.

Thus we may conclude without entering into the details connected with ownership of lands that after 600 B.C. the ownership in cultivable lands was vested in private individuals. The state was not to interfere with it except for the non-payment of the land-tax.

Ownership of private individuals in their cultivable land could not be affected by the action of the state except when there was a failure to pay the land tax. Individuals could freely gift away their lands in charity, mortgage or sell their lands. Inscriptions do record numerous gifts of land made by private individuals without any restraint by the state. Sometimes the state also made grants of lands and villages to temples and individuals. But this did not apply to state ownership of the arable land. All inscriptions relating to state grants emphasize that the state has a right to receive the various taxes including the land tax but never effect any change in the private ownership of the landed property including the village. In a few cases the state grants gave gifts of land exempting the donee from paying the taxes.

From a general study of the inscriptions of the Chalukyas, we may conclude that the basis of ownership of land conformed to the normal practice prevailing in ancient times as described above.

(ii) Kinds of Land

On the basis of the nature of soil of the land it was divided into Khejjana, Vāgulakachha-Khetra, galde and helluge. 'Galde' is same as Kannada galde (wet-land) and helluge (rice-land). Vāgulakachha refers to a marshy

land with plants. The meaning of Khajjana cannot be definitely ascertained.

One of the inscriptions of Vijayaditya makes a reference to registration of land of 20 mattars of black soil, 50 mattar of red soil, a mattar of wet land and 2 mattars of garden land. That a flower garden was given by way of a gift to a temple is known from an inscription of the Bhojeswara temple at Chippergeri, Adur taluq.

(iii) Land Tenure

Several systems of land tenure were followed in ancient times. For instance Sarvamanya, tribhoga, bittukattu, Kere-kodage, Katta Kodage and Sivane.

Sarvamanya lands were exempted from payment of taxes. Such lands could be not only arable lands but an entire village. These lands were based on the principle of free tenure.

Tribhoga^a lands were held by joint tenure. They were held by the Brahmanas or a private person and the gods⁵.

Bittu Kattu refers to 'a portion of the produce derived from the lands irrigated by tanks or wet lands irrigated by a tank granted to the person who built

the tank or repaired it⁶. This is also called bittuvatta or a gift of land for repair of a tank, Kerekodage refers to rice lands or arable lands under the tank.

The exact meaning of Kattakodage cannot be ascertained. However the term kodagi means fixed rent of land or "land granted for service in connection with restoration or construction of tanks. So Kattakodage must have some bearing on land tax. Similarly the meaning of divane, an other tax on land cannot be known with certainty.

Under the Chalukyas of Sadasi the most common types of land tenure as indicated in their inscriptions were 1) Sarvamanya (2) Devadana (3) Brahmadeva and (4) guttige (leased out estates). Inscriptions of the Chalukya kings often mention Sarvamanya, brahmadeya and devaralokabhumi systems of holding lands. For instance, the yekkeri rock inscription mentions the term 'Devaralokabhumi'.

The relevant portion of the record reads thus: "in the village of Benira - 8 nivartanas of the town of Thulipura; 5 nivartanas and 5 jack fruit trees at the town of Agariyapura and at (the town named) Krishnapura, 50 nivartanas with land called Devaraloka Bhumi, which were granted for accumulation of religious merit for the parents of Hari-sena".

Section IV: Fertility of land and Irrigation

A general study of the economic conditions which prevailed in the dominions of the Chalukyas shows that agriculture was in a prosperous state. It was also a very common occupation of the people. Yuan-Chwang the Chinese pilgrim says that the soil was fertile, cultivation was carried on a extensive scale and that famines were rare.

Agriculture, the main occupation of the people depended on rainfall for its main support and also water provided by rivers and tanks.

The chief features and means of irrigation and water supply in ancient Karnatak were -

- 1) construction of big tanks (tataka)
- 2) Channels
- 3) Water sheds
- 4) Water troughs
- 5) Large number of wells (vapi)
- 6) Piccotah and baskets

(1) Tanks:- Tanks were large reservoirs constructed between two mountains. Trees were planted on the banks of the tanks which helped to preserve fertility of the soil adjoining the tank and also yielded fruits.

Sometimes a tank on a big scale was constructed in the middle of a village or by the road side. It was known also as 'tataka' and had springs of good drinkable water. These types of tanks provided good water for the people living within the village.

(2) Channels:- It was also a practice to construct channels and feeder sluices of brick, stone and mortar to tanks so that arable land could get the facility of water for cultivation. These channels required great care in periodical cleaning to see that they were maintained in good condition.

(3) Water sheds:- To provide water facilities for wayfarers and travellers provision was made by the state or the community for erection of water-sheds. They were put up temporarily to serve as centres of free distribution of cool water, thin butter milk to weary pedestrians and travellers. This facility was quite refreshing to eyes dried and lips parched by hot winds in summer season.

(4) Water-troughs:- Water troughs were erected by the community to provide water for cattle. They were erected on both sides of the road.

Erection of water-sheds and water-troughs were mainly for domestic purposes and not for irrigation.

But it is worthwhile to point out here that it was a common custom among the people of ancient to provide drinking water freely both to human beings and bears. The importance of this ancient custom is explained in the Mahabharat which says that "the person in whose tank the thirsty cows, bearts and birds and men drank water, obtained the fruit of performing the Asvamedha sacrifice"⁸.

(5) Wells (Vapi):- Innumerable wells were constructed both for irrigation and domestic purposes. Along with tanks for dirrigation, a large number of wells were dry up in Deccan and southern India and they constituted foremost method of irrigation particularly in areas with scanty rainfall. This feature is to be seen even to this day in our country.

Smaller tanks which were known as Vapi were constructed and they were enclosed by square walls. It had springs of water on all four sides. They also served as bathing ghats in addition to other domestic purposes.

Maintenance and repair of tanks and wells were the concern of the state and local government. The former constituted the king, ministers and top-ranking officials and the latter, the Assemblies and the Village bodies. These authorities provide many incentives for the upkeep of tanks particularly by the people. For

instance collection of Paddy, gift of land for repair of tank (bittuvatta), Land for maintenance of tank (Kodage) etc. Lands belonging to temples were irrigated on the basis of agreements among the villages and the village assemblies.

In addition to government's encouragement for irrigation methods there was the practice of inflicting capital punishment on those who attempted to destroy the tank.

The observance of positive and negative means to protect and maintain tanks and wells properly shows the great importance attached to irrigation and water supply in ancient times. A passage in one of the inscriptions may be cited here to show the importance ^{generally} attached to maintenance and repair of irrigation works. The relevant portion of the inscription reads thus: "A ruined family, a breached tank or pond, a fallow kingdom, who so restores or repairs a damaged temple, acquires merit fourfold of that which accrued from them at first"⁹.

(6) Piceotah and Baskets:- In addition to irrigation methods described above there was another one very common in the rural parts of the country. It is called on irrigation by Piceotah and baskets. Lands which were not situated on the side of or near a river or tank could be irrigated by these methods. Such methods were

very ancient ones which find a reference even in the Arthasāstra. The Arthasāstra of Kaṣilya makes mention of four types of irrigation. They are "irrigation by hand, irrigation by water carried on shoulders, irrigation by some mechanical contrivances and irrigation by water raised from tanks and rivers".¹⁰

Section III: Land Units, Measures etc.

Land Units were called by the terms 'Nivartana' and 'mattar'. Invariably a large number of Chālukya records make mention of these two terms. For instance, the Yekkeri rock inscription of Pulakēśi II, Kopparam plates of Pulakēśi II, Diamondine plates of Vinayāditya make mention of the term 'nivartana'.¹¹ Inscriptions of Vijayāditya speak of the term 'mattar'.¹²

The terms Nivartana and mattar refer to land-measures. Though measurement of land differed from time to time and place to place, measurement by the units nivartana and mattar was popular. Generally speaking, the term 'nivartana' stood for one area of land measuring 210 x 210 square cubits¹³. The term 'mattar' (mattal) was another land measure approximately equal to three and a half acres of land¹⁴. There was the use of another term also in ancient times which was known as 'Kambam'. Evidently this term refers to a lower unit of land.

A reference to the existence of the system of measuring land is made in an inscription on the Kalte-bande rock in the Hanuman temple at Korugodu in Bellary taluq. Though the record is not dated it belongs to a Chalukya king and specifies the land measure (and the coin) to be used at Korugodu¹⁵. The practice of measuring land by a specified measure also receives support from another inscription from Adur which mentions the term "rajsmana"¹⁶. (Royal-measuring rod).

Besides the system of measuring land there was also a method of pointing out the boundaries of a land in clear-cut terms. Description in the inscriptions of the Chalukya kings may be cited which definitely proves the efficiency of land administration. The details available in some of the records regarding boundary of the land show, conclusively, that the lands were not only properly measured but were systematically recorded. The purpose of indicating the boundary of the land in question is self-evident. Further, the details helped to settle disputes which may arise in later times. We have already pointed out that the preservation of land records proves the existence of a regular department dealing with transactions of land.

FIXATION OF BOUNDARY

The British museum plates of Pulakesi I describes the boundaries of land given as gift to a Jaina temple. A few lines may be quoted as an instance in point. "On the day of the full-moon of the north vaishaka, when Rahu had entered the orb of the moon - the king, Sri Satyasraya gave a field to the 'ornament of the three worlds. The famous Jinanandi who was a very ocean of meritorious qualities and who was acquainted with all the sacred writings - he gave towns and enjoyment of sites and land (to excellent master Jinanandi).

There he declares the boundaries¹² of the (right of) enjoyment of sites of land on the north-west of the chaitya hall, there is a tank going in a straight line, in the middle of which there is a stone set up. Going to the south from that, along the road, there is a stream in the middle of which there is a stone set up. Going to the east (from that) as far as tamarind tree and then going to the north there is the tank mentioned above. That which is thus situated is the field of the entrance of the village.

"There he declares the boundaries of the fields (which are the objects of the right) of enjoyment of sites of land --- starting from the bridge on the south of the city and going along to the stream to the east

as far as the gleaning field, on the west boundary of it there is a stone set up. From that going along the boundary to the north there is an ant-hill near a ^mśani-tree. From that again going to the east, there is the Sthala-giri. From that again going to the north along the hill, there is the high part of the hill and then to the west as far as the Sthala-giri and then to the south (we come to the place where) the bridge stands. (There is constituted) the field (which is the object of the right of enjoyment of a site of land measuring one hundred and fifty nivartanas by the royal measure and encompassed by its four boundaries.

At the village of Varindaka, in the south-west quarter (there was given) a field (of the measure of) forty nivartanas by the royal measure, in the south quarter, encompassed by its four boundaries and constituted (by a boundary line drawn).

In the village of Karandige, in the west quarter (there was given) a field (of the measure of) 25 nivartanas by the royal measure on the north-west of the tank of the asvattha tree between the roads to the village of Chandavuru and Pand^arugavalli.

In the village of Davanavalli, in the west quarter (there was given) a field (of the measure of) 40 nivartanas by the royal measure, on the west of the grove of the

Pīṣaṇḍa, ⁿSiṅḡālaya between the roads to the city of Alaktaka and the village of Kumbāyija. And again in the same village, in the south quarter, (there was given) a field (of the measure of) one hundred nivartanas by the royal measure, situated close to the north of ⁿKiṅḡunti tank.

In the village of Nandirege in the east quarter (there was given) a field (of the measure of) 40 nivartanas by the royal measure between the boundary of (the village of) Baravulika and the road to (the village of) Śripura.

In the village of Śiripatti, in the west quarter (there was given) a field of (the measure of) 40 nivartanas by the royal measure, between the boundary of (the village of) Baravulika and the road to (the village of) Śripura.

In the village of Arjunavada, in the west quarter, (there was given) a field of the measure of 50 nivartanas by the royal measure to the north of the road to the village of Śripura.

He declares the name of the villages -- the first village is Rūvika in the Kumbayija Twelve. The second village is Samarivada. The third village is Lattivada, in the Badhamala Twelve. The fourth village is Pellidaka,

in the Eripura Twelve. These 4 villages (were given) together with their fields encompassed by the four boundaries and with the udranga and uparikara and not to be entered by irregular or regular troops."¹⁷

Section IV: Taxation - Revenue - Income of State

It has been rightly stated that "sound finances are absolutely necessary for a stable and prosperous state".¹⁸ Ancient Indian writers on polity very well realised importance of finances for a state. Therefore, they included prosperous treasury and adequate reserve funds as one of the fundamental elements of the state. They have also said that the weakening of finances would be one of the most serious national calamity¹⁹.

Even since the vedic times there was insistence for regular payment of taxes by the people to the king to enable him and his officers to carry on the government and live in dignity and pomp. Thus the state derived its revenue from the agriculturists and cattle-breeders. Besides collection of taxes from their subjects, the kings often received tributes from conquered chieftains. Any way system of taxation was indefinite in the earlier periods. With the beginning of the Maurya periods.

~~With the~~

we get clear references to taxes and methods of collection in the Arthashastra, Dharmasūtra and Smṛitis, Greek writers have also borne testimony to this.

According to the Smṛitis and epics the system of taxation was to be reasonable and equitable. The state and the people who paid taxes were to feel that they have got a fair and reasonable return for their labours. An article was to be taxed only once. Any increase in taxes, if necessary, was to be gradual and not sudden. Additional taxes were to be levied only in times of national danger and when there was no other alternative. Even the Arthashastra enunciated the same principles of taxation. However, a few clarifications were introduced. For instance, if enterprising persons bring fresh land under cultivation or seek to make it more fertile and productive by irrigating it with water from the tanks built by themselves, the state was to charge a nominal tax in the beginning and slowly raise it to the normal rate in a period of 4-5 years. Military villages were not to pay the taxes. The dumb and deaf were exempted from the payment of taxes. Learned Brahmins also were exempted from paying taxes as he taught higher knowledge to the pupils. There are cases where the revenues of entire villages known as agrahāra villages were assigned to learned Brahmins for their maintenance. Other Brahmins following

trade or any profitable occupation had to pay the normal taxes. Temples owning large arable lands were not exempted from taxation.

In the field of taxation, Land tax became the main source of income to government. Inscriptions refer to land tax as bhāgakara and sometimes as udranga. There was no uniform rate of taxation. The rate of taxes varies from 8 to 33 percent. This variation was partly due to the nature of land. According to Manu the rate of taxation could be 8 or 12 or 16 percent²⁰. As a general practice the state charged one-sixth of the produce as land-tax. However, during the times of certain rulers²¹ the rate of taxation was very higher. For instance the Mayuryan state charged 25% tax on agriculture incomes. In a later period, say the 11th century the Cholas for instance levied 20% as land tax. In still later times the percentage increased from 25 to 33. The percentage of land tax could be either of the gross or net produce. Normally the state claimed about 16% of the gross produce and 25% of the net income. In adverse circumstances however, there was the practice of remission of taxes.

Land tax was mainly collected till the 9th century A.D. in kind. Cash taxation became common after the 10th century A.D. when the land tax was collected in kind

the tax was recovered twice a year when the crops were harvested. Under the Māstrakūta administration taxes were collected thrice a year.

Land tax was not on a permanent basis. According to the facilities provided by the government taxes were enhanced and when lands irrigating certain fields dried up, their taxes had to be reduced.

In the case of failure to pay land tax his land was sold away after a given period.

Next to land tax Trade and industry were to bear their own burden. Traders had to pay octroi duties as the government provided transport facilities for shifting goods. Customs duties varied according to commodities. However, commodities used for religious ceremonies were exempted from octroi duties. Ferry tax was collected from Passengers, goods, cattle and carts. Besides customs and ferry duties there were sheptaxes and a small tax on weights and measures. Among taxes to be paid by industries, mention may be made of taxes paid by artisans like smiths and carpenters. These taxes were generally collected by local bodies which were permitted to do so by the central government. This tax has been called Kan^{ti}hara 'the tax onⁿartisans. The taxes on artisans also included certain imports

collected from barbers, washerman, goldsmiths and pelters. Weavers paid a tax. Trade in liquor was under state control. Mines were owned by state authorities. Excise duty was collected on salt. Cattle-breeding was an important trade on which also there was a tax.

In inscriptions, the customs and excise duties are mentioned as *bhūtopāttagratyāya* or a tax on what has come into existence or manufactured (*bhūta*) and on what has been imported (*upātta*)²¹.

Forced labour or *viṣṭi* was common. Poor people rendered free service in return for the protection they got from the state. According to Yuan-Chwang forced labour existed only in a few places²² and absent in some other places. It was expected only in times of visitors' inspection. Therefore, in certain places like the villages this practice enabled them to get the help and cooperation of a number of labourers, carpenters and smiths in building and repairing roads, rest-houses and tanks. Villagers also collected contributions to provide amenities for inspecting officers and policeforce.

In addition to taxes mentioned already epigraphy refer to collection of extra cesses and benevolences to meet unforeseen calamities or to undertake costly works of public utility or to carry out its plans of ambitious expansion. These are described in the *Arthasastra* as

Pranayas or benevolences. As wars were very frequent between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas it is quite likely that such benevolences were collected to raise and maintain large troops.

It should be pointed out here that though ancient maxims prescribed certain rules of taxation they were not entirely followed. Taxation pressed heavily on the people. Large detailed arrangements were made for the collection of taxes. However, when the taxes were considered as unjust the people raised a note of protest through the assemblies and either were partly successful if the kings were not tyrants. An instance in the history of Karnatak is available, where in an Assembly met and resolved that, taxation on cows and she-buffaloes were not sanctioned by the usage of the district since times immemorial and should not be therefore paid.

Besides taxes, the state got income from state properties, industries, proceeds of fines and tributes from feudatories, state properties included crown lands, waste lands, forests, mines, treasure-treves, natural tanks and reservoirs and it yielded large income. Arthashastra mentions administrative arrangements for supervising and collection of income from State properties, particularly, lands.

Although minute details are not forthcoming, the Lakshmeswar inscription of Yuvaraja Vikramaditya²³ defined the duties to be paid by the towns men. The relevant portion of one section of this inscription reads thus: "(1) "a tax that every occupied house shall pay once every year in the month of Vaishaka to the governors of the district; (2) Each several household for festival expenses - the highest households paying ten panas, the intermediate household seven panas, the lower five, the lowest three. (3) All previous usages viz., Pullige (a ^{power} tax on ^{in kind} ~~hyths~~, ~~Payasla~~) fines for theft and minor delinquencies (fines for) the ten offenses. (4) Likewise what is known as property of childless persons. - (all these) shall be paid into the guild there in the month of Kartika. (5) a gutta shall be paid for the ruva in the month of (m) agha". (6) Besides references to dues the inscription also mentions contributions collected from the people. It says that "every occupied house shall pay for festival expenses - the highest households twenty panas the intermediate fifteen, the lower ten, the lowest five. (7) Finally the inscription refers to tax which was required to be paid by oil-men.

From the description in the foregoing record we may infer that there was the practice of collecting house-tax in towns. House-tax formed another source of revenue to municipal authorities next perhaps to land tax to the government as a whole. Secondly to meet expenses of festivals in towns, there were specifications of contributions in accordance with the income of different classes of people in society. Thirdly fines were collected for offences. Fourthly a tax was levied on properties belonging to childless persons. Perhaps this tax was one which was charged on the produce of lands and property of those who died without proper heirs and the state took up the responsibility of maintaining such property. Fifthly collections of cultivated corn were made from different people on a specified basis for meeting expenses of festivals. Sixthly the inscription clearly denotes that there were specified months like Vaishaka etc. during which taxes were to be remitted. Finally it also throws light on the different rates of payments to be made by the rich, the middle and the lower classes of people.

Thus it will not be an exaggeration if we say that the method of taxation referred to above conformed to certain principles of taxation enumerated in modern times viz., the ability to pay on behalf of the payers and

payment of taxes were to be made in seasons convenient to the people. For instance the month of Vaishaka during which house tax was to be paid was a season convenient for the people because it succeeded the harvesting period when the people would be having stores of corn, collected from their fields. Tributes formed a large source of income for imperial states. This amount was not fixed. If the feudatories were too weak and the imperial army strong enough to enforced the payment, tributes were regularly collected. Similarly fines formed a good share of states' income. Finally state claimed by right properties having no rightful owners and heirs.

Inscriptions of the Chalukya kings contain references to dues, perquisites and taxes and also remission of certain taxes in specified circumstances. For instance, the Toghurchade copper plate mention dues and taxes known as 'Adityaunchhamarumayana and Maruncharumayana'.²⁴ These two terms are dravidian terms and they must have been dues or taxes on oil or offerings made to duties in temples.

Taxes in the following manner of collection were also in vogue. This is evident from the inscription from Lakkhan. (no. LIX. IA Vol. VIII). Adharana (a coin of a certain weight) at the time of feuding a child with

boiled rice, at the time of child braising, at sacred-thread ceremony and at the time of performance of rites when the religious student returned home after completing his studies. Two gadyanas at marriage and at the ceremony performed on the first sign of completion and at the celebration of an annual sacrifice. Three gadyanas at the celebration of the Chaturmāhja sacrifices and five gadyanas at the celebration of agnisthema sacrifice.

The Kādamī pillar inscription²⁵ in the Jambulinga temple registers gift of several taxes and incomes in kind. They were made by king vijayāditya for the benefit of the temple of the trio-Brahma, viṣṇu and Mahāśvara.

Inscriptions make frequent references to two kinds of taxes in addition to other impositions by the state. They are Upanika and Uḍṛanga²⁶. These taxes were impositions collected on the excess income of the people required to be paid in cash or in kind. In certain cases they were also right to fines and the proceeds of punishments inflicted for the ten classes of officers (Dr. Meier).

Land tax was the main ^{source} ~~source~~ of revenues. It was one-sixth of the produce, normally, paid ⁱⁿ ~~by~~ kind.

Besides land tax a few other duties were in vogue. They were hejjunka, perjunka and Vaddarāuval which were customs duties on ^{and} ~~and~~ petrol was collected on commodities like arecanut, medical goods, spices, clothes, precious

stones, paddy, saffron, pepper and betel-leaves. Artisans like the oil-men, weavers, cart-drivers were required to pay the specified duties.

Inscriptions also speak of remission of certain taxes. For instance, the Belgam inscription²⁷ of Vinayāditya records remission of certain fees and duties by an official named Kaudarba on the occasion of the king's accession to the throne. Another inscription on a broken pillar in the shrine of a linga in Gooty Taluk, Anantapur district, belonging to the reign of Kirtivarma II states that the king remitted certain taxes due from certain *gāṇuḍas*, named in the record. Remission of taxes in times of inadequate rainfall or draught in a region was also followed²⁸.

Exemption from payment of taxes was granted in certain exceptional cases. The Lakshmeśvar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, while announcing grant of villages mentions certain exemptions of taxes in the case of Charitable activities by individuals or associations.

An inscription of the stone temple at Peddavadagur in Gooty Taluk relating to Pulakēśi II makes mention of the Grant of a village, free from payment of taxes²⁹.

Section V: Expenditure

We have to admit that very little information on expenditure is forthcoming. Even the earlier sources like the mahabharata and the smritis do not throw much light on this topic. Inscriptions and Copper plates also do not help us very much in this direction.

The only one source which provides more information on expenditure before the 10th or 11th centuries is the Arthasāstra. (Sukra's writing is slightly later). It refers to expenditure on royal establishments only. It does not inform us about the percentage of income spent on each item of expenditure included in the royal household. It gives us the salaries of ministers and officers. As a general practice officers were paid either by the grants of land or by the assignment of land taxes. Cash pay was a little rare.

Whatever may have been the share of expenditure on royal household the states spent a certain share over items of public utility. It covered expenditure on the works of public welfare like the building of roads, digging of wells and tanks, maintenance of rest houses.³⁰ Normally a state would spend 8% for the social cultural and nation-building activities of the state. But actually amount spent was more than this percentage because the amounts spent by local bodies are not included in the above percentage³⁰.

It may not be out of place here to mention the percentage of expenditure under king ^hHarsavardhana, the contemporary of Pulakēsi II. According to Yuan-Chwang "Harsa spent 50% of the land revenue on general administration and 50% on rewards for high intellectual eminence and gifts to various sects"³¹. Even if 50% is an exaggerated figure on encouragement to learned persons etc. it is definitely certain that the rulers spent more than 8% on patronage of learning, sathas, walls, rest-houses, poor-relief etc.

Another outstanding feature of public expenditure in this period was military expenditure. It was very high. From A.D. 6th century onwards militarism was rampant and warfare very frequent. If a kingdom desired to live and maintain its independence, it had to spend heavily on its fighting forces. The huge military expenditure fostered martial spirit but also indirectly encouraged trade and industry.

It is worth mentioning here that it was a very routine custom for the rulers to maintain a reserve fund to the extent of 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ % of the revenues.³² Hindu kings ~~had~~ had in their possession large treasures bequeathed by their predecessors which they would spend only on very grater occasions. It is a surprising fact that public loans were unheard of and the state could tide over a

a crisis only if it had a rich treasury and full and ever flowing granaries. Thus the practice of reserve funds helped them to face emergencies. Monies were kept in treasuries which were of two types - public and secret. The situation of the secret treasury was known only to a few confidants and it could not be normally taken for use. The public treasury was one the contents of which were entered into the usual state documents and could be utilised at any time for normal current expenditure.

From an overall review of the sources, we can make the following observation in regard to state expenditure under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The kings utilised the revenues of their dominions for the defence of the country, construction of forts, temples, religious endowments, patronising men of learning and preparing language and literature, art and architecture. The Aihole inscription mentions the construction of a Jinalaya. We have evidence in the Lakshmeśwar pillar inscription regarding expenditure to be met during festivals in towns. The Adur inscription of Kirtivarma II dated 750 A.D. refers to construction of an alm-house by a gāmunda whose name appears as Dharma gāmunda³³. Similarly other inscriptions refer to defensive arrangements that were made by the Chālukya kings, they have been reviewed under Chapter IV. Encouragement to men of letters, art and sculpture also involved quite a good share of public expenditure. They

have been surveyed under Chapter VII. Public expenditure, therefore, was in accordance with the time-honoured principles enumerated in the Arthasāstra and the smṛitis. The activities of the government and the king were not merely ^{confined} continued to the bare minimum of police and tax-collecting functions. It performed constituent and ministrant functions also which mark, in modern times a 'welfare State' and concerned itself with such activities conducive to contentment and happiness of the people.

Section VII: Coinage

Regarding the coins which were in circulation during this period we have to say that details are not available. However inscriptions give some information.

Pulakesi I issued two types of coins one type known as the double die coins were struck before revive of Punch-marked coins. The coin bears on the obverse caprisoned bear with coin horn, sun, moon and on the reverse eight petalled lotus³⁴. The second type is the cup-shaped coins bearing on the obverse the bear and lotus with eight petals, sankha and strong bow and on the reverse lines forming a square.

The earliest specimen of coins issued by Mangalasa were similar to Padmatankas' of the Kadamba kings. The

'Padma tanks'^a bear the lotus in the centre round which there are four punch-marks of smaller padmas³⁵.

These coins appear to have been continued in later years of the Chalukya rule.

In addition to the above types of coins we have to say that the common specimens of coins which were in use in ancient times were also in use in the Chalukya period. They are gold coins (Suvarna); varying from 118-114⁶_{9 grains} (Gadyana) and Silver coins and (Pana). Copper coins (Niskas) also were in use. Inscriptions of the early Kadamba period mention these terms. The gold coin known as Suvarna was a coin of standard weight³⁶.

The council of Five hundred of Ayyavole was dealing with coins like a dharana (a coin equal to one-quarter of a henna or Pagoda. According to some authorities this coin is an imaginary one of the value of eight dubs and according to some others it was a coin of varying weights.

Section VII: Weights and Measures

Existence of markets for Purchase and Sale of commodities was a striking feature of economic life of the people. This fact is borne out by the Keral (copper plate. It states further that privilege of supervision

of eight markets like Poliyana, Adigarika had been given to officers. Although the meanings of the terms are not clear it is evident that supervision of markets by authorities was being made. Again, very powerful commercial organisations like the guilds gave effect to transactions in goods. Hence to facilitate business transactions there were specified weights and measures.

According to Sir Walter Elliot, representations of two iron weights may be noted to have existed in this period. His opinion may be cited to elucidate this point. "One is circular and weighs exactly 31 lbs, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, 4 drams. It has on the front the figure of a bear the Chalukya emblem and above it a sword with the sun and the moon; and on the back, the words Pranadicha - Samvis i.e., one visa (stamped in) the Pranadicha Samvatsara. The other is octagonal and weighs 120 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 drams. It has on the front the words Pranadicha Sam^vri 1/4 i.e. a quarter visa (stamped in) the pranadicha samvatsara." In the modern dialect Sanderson gives one-sixteenth and also visa the five seers of the weights of 120 rupees. (31 lbs. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$. 8 94 drams). In some early inscriptions visa and later visa) on each bhandaperu () - apparent) and fifty (betel-leaves) on each peru of betel leaves whenever the customs duty should come to him. This much proclaimed by the king and by (the people of) the city headed by the mahajanas"³⁷.

An inscription of 732 - 33 A.D. mentions a list of measures commonly used in those days. They were Mana, Peru, Voosa and bhanda-peru. Mana is still in use and identified with maund. (11.2 kg.). Peru is taken equal to 64 seers. Voosa was in use till recently and equivalent to 8 seers. Bhanda-peru may refer to a east-load.

Grains were measured by Kula on Kolaga (64 seers = 17.28 kgs) sontige was a liquid measure, particularly for measuring oil.

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CHAPTER VI

Local Government

Section I: Divisions of Territory

We have already made a survey of the territorial divisions which were in vogue under the Chalukyas of Badami. In forming the various divisions there was no uniformity. Some divisions were small and some others were big. The reasons for this variation were not only political but difference in population and fertility also. Suppose the territory of a feudatory was annexed to an empire, and though it was a small one, it would normally be formed into a separate division and would become a district by itself. Unlike this there may have been a large frontier-district ^{which} and ^{became} a large division due to encroachment and policy of expansion. Similarly, if a region became excessively important, it would consist of larger number of villages in it. For instance, the Kanhataka district (Vishaya) in Maharashtra had in 768 A.D. 4000 villages but subsequently came to comprise nearly 10,000 villages. However, Kingdoms like the Chalukyas of Badami or the Pallavas which were not as large as the Mauriyas empire comprised of fewer types of territorial divisions. Such divisions were known as the Vishaya, or rastra representing the district.

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A district would generally comprise towns and villages. The villages played a more important part in ancient Indian life than the towns and cities. They were the pivot of administration in India. Even when the kingdom expanded into a big empire there was no change in the ^{boundary} village limits. Villages were the real centres of social life and formed the very basis of the country's economy. "They sustained the edifice of national culture, prosperity and administration".

Districts, towns and villages came under the purview of local government. Local administration was not uncommon in ancient India. Ever since the Vedic times importance was attached to administration of local units. Such a system of local government was improved upon and made more systematic and efficient during the British administration of India and the Union government to day in India has also continued giving prominence to local administration by local bodies. It will be apt here to cite the observation of Sir George Birdwood. Says he, "India has undergone more religious revolutions than any other country in the world, but the village communities remain in full municipal vigour all over the Peninsula. Scythian, Greek, Saracen, Afghan, Mongol and Maratha have come down from its mountains and Portuguese, Dutch, English, French and Dane up out of its seas and set up

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 their successive dominations in the land; but the religious trades union villages (Sic) have remained as little a *flucted* Heated by their coming and going as a rock by the rising and falling of the tide".¹

We have already pointed out that the Chalukya dominions were divided into several vishayas for administrative convenience. The vishayas consisted of towns and villages. The number of villages in a division was indicated by the numerical suffixes used in these times. Though the significance of these figures is still a matter of controversy we may conclude that the smaller number stands for the number of villages in that unit and that the bigger figures are not trustworthy. We may give ^{ces} instants to illustrate smaller divisions - viz., Purigere 300; Kisukadu 70; Banavasi 12,000. Nayarkhaya 70; Belvola 300 etc., which stood for the number of villages comprising the unit. Bigger divisions like Gangavadi 96,000 and Maharastrakar 99,000 lead one to conclude that the figures are unbelievable.

From a study of the Chalukya inscriptions we may state that local government was continued on the ancient customs and practices and that there was no violation of the same. In order to recognise talents available in the local areas and also to constitute the village as an effective unit of social, economic and cultural life, the Chalukya kings did adopt a policy of local administration.

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Section II: District Administration

The Vishaya of the Chalukya records generally corresponded with the district of the modern administration. A vishaya would normally consist of about thousand to two thousand villages². The head of a vishaya was known as Vishaya Pati³. He had other officers to assist him in the administration of the district. These district officers were responsible for the up-keep of law and order in their districts. They also supervised collection of government taxes and revenues.

As far as the central government was concerned, the most important duty of a Vishaya Pati was maintenance of law and order. For this purpose they had a small military force under them. The dandanayakas whose name occurs in the inscriptions were the heads of military units stationed in the different places to function under the orders of the district officers. The officers of the police departments probably worked under the directions of the district officers. We do not have definite information to say that the other officers in-charge of commerce, industry and public works were subject to the immediate supervision of the Vishayapati, though working under the direct orders of the heads of their respective department at the centre. No information is also forthcoming regarding judicial functions of the Vishayapati.

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Coming to the self-governing element in the district administration we may say that the Vishayapati had a council of the leading men like the chief banker, the chief merchant, the chief artisan and the chief writer which had a large voice in district administration⁴. This popular element became very common and effective after the Gupta period in ancient times. Whether the council looked after the administration of the headquarter of the district alone or of all the areas included in the district is not known. But we may conclude that the latter was more likely.

Information is scanty on matters like the formation of the council - whether the members were elected or appointed. As far as the bankers and merchants were concerned they were chosen by the President of their guilds as their designation with the prefix 'Prathama' indicates. Other members of the council were perhaps persons belonging to different classes who had obtained a prominent position by virtue of their age, experience and character, who were taken to the council by a general "consensus of opinion". As the district councils were dominated by urban interests there may have been only a few representatives from the rural areas.

District administration was well organised. The grants of land issued by the kings were maintained in a records office. The officer in-charge of this office kept accurate records of the dimensions and ownership of not only

cultivated but also the waste lands and also of house-sites in towns and villages. Some of the land-grant charters even bear the seals of the district administration⁵. All transactions were conducted on methodical lines.

Section III: Administration of sub-divisions

In ancient times sub-divisions comprising a certain number of villages existed. These divisions came in between the district and the village and varied widely from age to age. Such divisions became very popular after the 8th century A.D. A number of these divisions with groups of villages were known as Pathaka, Peta, Sthali or Bhukti in the different Provinces⁶.

Under the Chalukyas of Badami many of the sub-divisions consisting of 200-400 villages were also sub-divisions of vishayas corresponding to modern Tehsils. Therefore, the subdivisions do not appear in distinct terms in their records.

Section IV: Administration of Towns

In ancient times administration of towns was carried on certain principles which now form the constitution of a municipal bodies. Although towns were not many in the Vedic period they came to prominence after the 3rd century

B.C. Most of them were autonomous to a large extent, being governed by their own councils. Nothing can be known as to how the councils were constituted. Probably experienced elders were taken as members on the council by a general consensus of opinion of the people. The council also had its chief officer who was called Sarvartha-chintaka⁷ in very early times. Under the Guptas he was called Purapala, an officer appointed by the central government. If the town was the headquarters of a district, the district officer discharged this duty. If the town was a fort it had another officer by name Kottapala who had under him military captains. As a general practice, the Purapalas themselves were military captains as is clear from a few inscriptions of a (slightly) later period. For instance, in 1140 A.D. Mahadeva and Pataladeva were the joint protectors of Badami under the rule of Jagadekamalla⁸. Both the above officers were dandanayakas or military captains. Sometimes the Purapala was also selected out of men of learning. The office used to combine literary qualifications with military ability also.

+ The Purapala or Protector of the town was assisted by a non-official committee. All classes and interests were represented on the committee. Sometimes towns were divided into wards and each ward sent its own members to the committee. The members were known for their experience,

character and ^{Seniority} by age. Such members normally would be on the council at the rate of five members for every ward. It had an executive of its own for the quick disposal of business. The number of members on the executive committee varied according to the needs of each case. It was their function to supervise collection of taxes, investment and recovery of public funds and administration of trust funds etc. The committee had lower grade officers to assist the members in their work. However, the organisation of the council became very systematic after the 9th century A.D. But it is significant here to point out that town administration by committees was a successful method of administration even in the Maurya period. Pataliputra, the Imperial Capital was administered by town committees. It consisted of a body of 30 members divided into five sub-committees, each committee had its specified functions, the details of which are clear from the Arthashastra⁹.

During the period covered by this thesis and slightly in later times, towns were the most dominant centres of corporate life. The representatives of the towns on the councils were called Nakhara¹⁰. Their Assembly was known as Nakhara-samuha. The term 'Nakhara' is also similar to the term 'Nakara' occurring in the records of this period. Nakara, evidently queens Nagara. The Nagaras belonged to the vaisya community. We may cite here the description

of the abilities of ^{the} ~~the~~ Nagara^s, hailing from Hiriyar Balagaranur. "They were adept in judging all kinds of objects, took delight in making the gift of Gosahasra (thousand cows) and giving food, were well-versed in uplifting the poor and the destitute being an ocean of all virtues and good qualities and devoted to the feet of the gods Hari and Nara. They enjoyed the sullied fruits of Dharma, Artha and ~~Karma~~ Karma, having increased their wealth by purchases and sales"¹¹. Elsewhere the Nakharas are stated to have been 'born in one hundred and twenty vaisya families which were a source of felicitation to the navel of Brahma, the creator of the universe, from whom emanated the Vedas and the Vedanga'¹².

The above description clearly denotes that the members coopted to the council were men of learning and character and known for their age and experience.

In addition to the 'Nakharas' there were other commercial bodies functioning such as Mumauridandas (that body which had a stick intertwined with three golden bracelets as its banner) and Ubhaya Manadesais (Merchants who carried on business transactions both in local and also in foreign markets). Inscriptions mention local representatives of these bodies. For instance Segi Setti appearing in an inscription was a person occupying a high position among the business people. He was also called as Setti-gatter indicating that he was a great business magnate. In some

other context he is also called "rithvi-setti" who was the sole authority in business, perhaps holding monopoly in certain lines of business as in modern times.

THE FIVE-HUNDRED SVAMIS OF AYYAVOLE:

In the Chalukya inscriptions of the period covered by this thesis, we come across the mention of an organisation known as 'The Five Hundred Svamis of Ayyavole'. It was the supreme organisation of several business interests to which were affiliated all the local associations of Vakharas and other bodies. It had its branches all over Karnataka and neighbouring states and also outside India.

It is worthwhile here to enter into a detailed description of the council of Five-hundred. We also find that this topic has been discussed at some length by Dr. P. B. Desai in his 'Jainism in South India'¹⁴. The Five-hundred Svamis of Ayyavole represented an outstanding commercial organisation in Karnataka. It directed and supervised the business activities in the entire country. The town of Ayyavole or modern Aihole in Bijapur district was its original headquarters. It was styled as 'Five-Hundred Chiefs' which must have been derived from the number of members on the council at first instance.

* Later terms like Pattanasetti or Pattanasvani give the same meaning.

From the characteristic description of its members it may be known that this organisation was equipped with defensive arrangements against eventualities. The organisation was supremely influential and had an elaborate machinery of affiliation and control. It had its branches in the extensive area of Karnataka but also in the territories of the Tamil, Telugu and other provinces. Its affiliations can be seen to have enrolled the Tumkuridandas, Nanadesis and other organisations. Muvatturu or 'Thirty-six bidu' was also one of its affiliated organisations.

The assembly had control over the craft organisations like 'Valanjiyar',¹⁹ and 'citr-mili',²⁰. Whenever necessary, they conducted several meetings where a large number of people met. "Thus a congregation consisting of all samajas (religious denominations) from the four and eight quarters and also districts, their followers comprised Eriviras, Munaviras and confessed some privileges on the residents of the town". The guild possessed a strong sense of oneness of members and exercised considerable influence over administration. It made rules and regulations for business transactions. It also issued copper plate charter which had been evidently permitted by the central government. Its President and leaders influenced town administration to a great degree.

The Belga inscription of Vinayaditya makes reference to existence of guilds. It states, 'Upon the

two districts headed by the guild of the Dasaas (an establishment of a temple of a God of Valliggaṇṇa and the establishment of the temple of Amali and the establishment of the temple of Vedevali and Ravichanda of the people of Alavalli and Forkagamunda and Molejaramaniya gamunda and the people of Navalli and the Ganigas of Indagi and Sinderganige of Nirilli.²¹

Another inscription from Pattadakal on the front or north face of a pillar within the building itself in the temple of Virūpākṣa says that the pillar was a votive offering of a certain Puttisaṅga and also mentions a Mahasamanta named Kṛṣṇa²². He appears to have issued some edict regarding the pillar of the temple to the guild of one-thousand-nine-hundred and sixty six.

The earliest reference to the 'Guild of the Five Hundred' about which later inscriptions speak of, is to be found in an inscription of Iad-Khan in Aihole²³. "The members of the guild one for instance spoken of as Śrīnada Ayyavolay Naynurvar-śvaṇigal is the five hundred śvaṇis of the glorious (city of) Ayyavole in 11 44, 54, of a Western chālukya.

"The grant that was given by Bananna Somayaji to Five Hundred (who constituted) the great body of chaturvedis of the excellent capital of Ayyapura which arose from (was founded by) a collection of worthy people was): A dharana (a coin equal to one-quarter of a honnu

or pagoda* at the ceremony of feeding a child with boiled rice and at the festival held when the first signs of life are perceived in the foetus at the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread and at the rites performed when the religious student returns home after completing his studies; two gadyanas at marriage and at ceremony performed on the first sign of conception and at the celebration of an animal sacrifice; three gadyanas at the celebration of the 'Chaturmāsya sacrifices' and five gadyanas at the celebration of the agnisthoma sacrifice. Such was the grant (to them and those shall be...

Hail of the perpetual.... of the Five Hundred (who constituted) the great body of chaturvēdis of the excellent capital of Ayyāpura which arose from a collection of worthy people...."

It is interesting to note that the Guild of the Five Hundred at Aihole, 'the bone of the famous guild of the five hundred, had a constitution in the 8th century. This constitution is similar to that of Puligere.

An inscription from Aihole assigned²⁴ to the reign of Chalukya Vikramāditya II of A.D. 733-44 makes reference to its Mahājanas and the nagarās.

Another undated inscription from the same place refers to a gift by the five hundred mahājanas (also called chaturvēdis) the eight nagarās and the hundred and twenty

uralis to goddess Durga Bhagavati. It may be inferred from the contents of the second record that the mahājanas, the nagarās and the ūru were in charge of administration of Aihole²⁵.

The Hirsingi inscription mentions some guild of Mahanādu referring to "the various constituents of the merchant guild of Ayyavole 500"²⁶.

Besides the famous guild of Aihole, another town which had a self-governing local unit was Pōrigere or modern Lakshmeswar. The town assembly of porigere consisted of the Mahājanas, nagara and 18 prakritis or communities. Yuvaraja Vikramaditya granted a constitution to it in A.D. 725. This constitution was called 'Achāra vyavasthe or a 'manual of conduct. The assignment of work to the different organs of the local administration was as follows:

"The king's officers are to protect" those of the houses that are untenanted, the king's gift, the king's proclamation, authoritative testimony of goodmen (?) constitutional usage. copper-plate edicts, continued enjoyment of the five dharmas.....

Then comes the section defining the duties of the town people. It begins with the mahājanas or brahmin burgesses - this is the municipal constitution for the mahājanas. A tax that every occupied house shall pay

once every year* in the month of vaishāka to the governors of the district; each several household for festival expenses? the highest households paying ten panas the highest intermediate seven panas, the lower five, the lowest three: all previous usages viz., puttige* fines for theft and minor delinquencies (fines for) the ten offences, likewise what is known as property or childless persons: (all these) shall be paid into the guild there in the month of kartika. A gutta* shall be paid for (?) to the rūva in the month of magha. Then after a reference, [unfortunately, half only is visible to] the government of pāndis and settis in the towns, we have the article on the braziers- 'for the guild of braziers (every) occupied house (shall pay) for festive expenses (?) the highest households twenty palas, the intermediate 15, the lower 10, the lowest five, total one tole;

Next to be mentioned are the oilmen:*

Then the record refers to a supplementary endowment: "Also the field granted to (?) are of the fortunate kupparana the 300 households and the gānunda of the province together with the godigar (?) have granted....."27.

From the foregoing record, it is clear that the Lakshmeswar inscription is one of the earliest to mention institutions of nagara, the mahajanās and okkelu of Karnātak.

The above inscription also mentions that a Nadagamunda gave gifts of land either by permission of the king or local bodies. The nadagamunda and the 300 okhala or household of puligere and godyar gave a field to the ara of the fortunate kupparaa. ✓

Section V: Administration of Villages

A village was the last but the most important link in local administration, we have already stated that the village has been the pivot of administration in India. Particularly in an age when communications were slow and industrialisation undeveloped, the village units were very important in the economy of a state. In the political field, kings in ancient times used to convene a meeting of village headmen to discuss important questions of administrative policy. There is no doubt that the villages were the real centres of social life and contributed their mite for national prosperity.

Village headman: Administration of the village was carried under the supervision and direction of the village headman. In earlier times he was called as gramani. The Arthashastra refers to his prominent role in village administration²⁸. In different parts of the country he was called by different names. For instance gramika in northern India, mununda in eastern Deccan, Irakuta or

Pattalika in Mahārāstra^h, gavunda in Karnatak and mahattaka or mahantaka in ex-united provinces between 500-1200 A.D.

There used to be only one headman for each village. His office was hereditary. He was a non-Brahmana. He was the leader of the village milina^{ti}. He was an important officer in village administration in the sense that even rulers used to consult him while making grants. His order also received the ruler's approval, subsequently.

The most important functions of a village headman were: defence of the village, collection of government revenue, maintaining necessary records and carrying on the work of collection in consultation with the village council, carrying on correspondence with district authorities, supervising the work of village accountant and providing the link between the people of the village and the central government. He and the accountant were remunerated for their services by rent-free land and certain dues in kind.

Village Assembly:

Every village had a primary Assembly to which all respectable householders were admitted as members. In Karnātake and also the adjoining areas the assembly consisted of all householders. Several inscriptions from Karnātake prove that the number of the Mahajanās (Great Men of the village) was very large, sometimes 200,

sometimes 400-500 and sometimes 1002²⁹. All the members were invited by the beat of the drum for attending the meeting of the Assembly. This Assembly was known as Mahattamas in U.P., mahattaras in ^WMaharashtra, mahajanas in Karnatak and Perumakkal in Tamil country. As this assembly had a large strength it was obliged to choose an executive body to carry on the administration of the village. It is these committees that were later formed into panchayats since the days of Lord ^{Ripon} ~~Pipar~~ and Panch and Sarpanchs in present day rural administration of Republican India.

Both the village headman and the accountant were guided in matters of administration by the village elders who formed members of the council.

In the Tamil country, the village councils were constituted in a methodical manner as gleaned from the inscriptions relating to chōla kings. The primary assembly of the villages was known as ūr in the case of ordinary villages and sabhā in the case of agrahāra villages, mostly membered by learned Brāhmanās. Inscriptions give a detailed description of the constitution and functions of village assemblies or sabhās and their executive bodies consisted of learned persons. It will be apt here to make a passing reference to the working of the executive committees of the village assembly as detailed in the classic instance in inscriptions at Uttaramērūr, a village

in Chingleput district of present Tamilnad (Madras). The government of this village was carried on by sub-committees of the sabha, each set up for a specific purpose. Membership was based on experience and high qualifications of the residents of the village. It is really a fact worth noticing that there were certain restraints placed on the candidates who proved unworthy of contesting the elections on grounds of dereliction of duties or not properly appropriating the public funds where they were in office etc. No government officer was included in the committees as members. Election of members to various committees was made by drawing lots. Caste consideration did not influence selection of members to the committees.

Division of the village council into sub-committees which prevailed in the Tamil country was not known in Karnāṭaka. Many of the inscriptions from Karnāṭaka indicate that the Greatmen of the village known as Mahājanās used to run educational institutions, excavate canals and tanks, construct rest-houses, collect subscriptions for public purposes and act as trustees and bankers assuring the proper utilisation of trust funds allotted to their care. The Mahājanās possibly might have their own smaller committees to help them in the discharge of functions, but inscriptions are silent on this point. It has been rightly observed by Dr. A. S. Astekar who says that "it would appear that the village mahajanās of Karnāṭak used to make only informal arrangements for

the discharge of these various duties and responsibilities through their executive council, which is seen to consist sometimes of three and sometimes of five members³⁰. These members would have taken the help of other leading and influential citizens as demanded from the circumstances.

Broadly speaking the village councils performed the following functions: Collection of land revenue, proposing remission of taxes during famines etc. to the central government, owning waste lands in villages, settling civil disputes in the villages, by family elders, prescribing punishments to attenders, management of temples, transacting business as bankers, revising loans in times of famine and achieving progress of the entire village community by organising works of public utility. The councils also promoted cultural and intellectual progress of the village also.

The financial resources of the village councils in order to carry out the enormous responsibilities lay in the following: central government's permission to utilise a certain percentage (10 to 15 %) of the village revenues for works of public utility and village defence. Fines imposed by village courts on offenders, imposition of necessity, grants by central government to undertake costly projects etc.

On the whole, we may conclude that the village assemblies followed a systematic procedure and conducted their meetings on democratic principles, determined constitution for their own functioning, had a harmonious relationship with the central government without the latter's undue interference, held periodical auditing and inspection of accounts. The central government exercised only a general supervision and control over the village assemblies. It left the initiative to the village councils which had large powers. The councils looked to security of village by effective defensive measures, collected the taxes of the central government and levied their own, settled village disputes, organised works of public utility and recreation, functioned as trustees and bankers, raised public loans to provide famine-relief measures, manage schools, colleges, poor houses, temples and supervised activities of the people. Thus, they played an important role in defending the interests of villages and in promoting their national, moral and intellectual progress.

Let us now make a survey of how the two types of village councils - the Mahajanās and the Agrahāras - functioned in the dominions of the Chālukyas.

Inscriptions of the Chālukya kings afford information regarding the existence and functioning of the

Vahajanās and also the Agrāharas. We may take up a description of these village assemblies one by one. As far as the qualifications for membership on the Vahajanās were concerned, the Lakkundi inscription mentions that they were to be good and respectable householders known for their character and incalculable merit, skilled in arts and attained fame for generosity.

The Lakshmēśwar pillar inscription³¹ of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya states that he granted a constitution to the burgesses of pōrigere (Puligere). The object of this inscription is to record the mutual obligations and rights of royal authorities (represented by the crown prince Vikramāditya) and of the Vahajanās and burgesses of the town Lakshmēśwar (Puligere). Besides the Vahajanās and the burgesses the record also states that this social constitution was given to the eighteen prakritīs of the town. We have discussed the significance of the term 'Prakriti' already (Chapter II). It is worthwhile to note here that the inscription throws light on the relations of the central government with the local assembly at Puligere which proves that the assembly was indispensable to the kingdom and how it had reposed considerable in the central government.

We may mention below an analysis of the above inscription to bring out the importance of the arrangements carried out by the central government in the municipal administration of the town. They are :

- (1) The charter specifies the position of the royal officers and their relations with the Municipality (lines 5-10). The relevant portion of the record reads thus: "The king's officers are to protect those of the houses that are untenanted". Further the inscription states that the king issued a proclamation that on the authoritative testimony of goodmen (respectable householders) the constitutional usage, copper plate groups were restored and that they could continue to enjoy their estates and lead the lives of the five dharmas to which they were previously accustomed. The five dharmas included the traditional four ones and life of children as the ^{fifth} fitter one.
- (2) The inscription further defines the several duties the town people (line 10) were required to pay. Such duties were levied on the basis of a classification of the people into the highest, Intermediate and lower and stipulates the month during which the duties had to be paid. Every occupied house was to pay a sum of money in the month of Vaishāka to the district officers. Similarly each householder had to pay a share towards meeting expenses of festivals. The relevant portion of the record which is cited already (Chapter V) reads thus: "The highest householders (Paying) ten Panas, the intermediate householders, seven Panas, the lower five, the lowest three.

Further the inscription mentions that all previous usages were restored. For instance Puttige (perhaps a tax on births payable in kind) was revived. Fines and certain imposts (e.g. for childless property) were to be paid to the guild in the month of Kartika. ✓

- (3) Finally the inscription refers to certain payments to be made to the guild of brahmins to meet expenses of festivals which have been cited under Chapter V. The last portion of the record is significant in this connection. It states that an endowment of field was granted to one Kuppamma and the Gamunda of the province together with the godiger. Evidently the gamunda mentioned in the inscription was the headman. What actually is the meaning of the term 'godigar' is uncertain.

We have already stated that the Mahajanās were assisted by the village headman. He was designated in Karnataka as 'gamunda'³². He was to receive directions from the Mahajanās and carry out their orders. However, he had also the status to render his advice to the mahajanās. In this connection we may cite the Adur inscription which mentions that a certain gamunda whose name is lost saw to the construction of a Jinalaya and got a dānaśāla also attached to it to the maintenance of which a gift of 25 nivartanas of land was made by the king³³. Probably the gamunda, referred to, was Dharma gamunda.

whose grandson, Śripala was a desciple of prabhāchandra who set up the stone tablet recording the above gift³⁴. Prabhāchandra's teacher was Vinayanandi who had been placed in charge of the sanctuary for conducting worship etc. by Dharma gāmunda³⁵.

We may now proceed to describe the functions and importance of 'agrahāras'; under the Bādāmi Chalukyas as far as the local administrative set up was concerned. Chalukya inscriptions mention that the city of Vātāpi or Bādāmi was under the direct control of the body called 'Mahāchatur Vidya Samudāya'³⁶ which composed of 2,000 members. By the term 'Chaturvidya' it is meant to denote the four vedas. According to some writers it denotes 14 vedas which included the four vedas, six Angas, Dharmasāstra, Meemasa, Tarka and the Purānas. According to the Bādāmi inscription the agrahāra was said to have specialised in 'Chaturdasa vidya' as the epithet 'Chaturdasa vidya Salakshita' signifies³⁷.

Though the Rāstrakūṭa inscriptions mention the names of ordinary chaturvidya samudāyas or Assemblies of Chaturvedīḥ and Traividya samudāyas or Assemblies of Trivedīḥ, the one that is mentioned in the Bādāmi Inscription was a very rare and enlightened council. It was called Mahāchaturvidya samudaya or the Great Assemblies of chaturvedīḥ. Undoubtedly Bādāmi had a district honour

of being ^{not only} ~~honourly~~ a chaturdāsa vidyāsthana but the seat of chaturvidyā samudāya also. This council continued to hold the same status of honour during the Rāstrakūṭa period.

The councils of vedic scholars mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs were designated in course of time as agrahāra villages or assemblies of village elders. They exercised control over the villages in which they were situated in matters concerning the utilisation of rural resources. They also imposed regulations regarding the distribution of spoils or booty of a raid whenever the king returned after a victorious campaign. In this connection we may note that the Bādāmi Pillar inscription in the Jambulinga temple records that the two thousand members of the mahachaturvidyā samudāya of the victorious city of Vātāpi remitted the spoils of the cobblers of the place in favour of Nidiyamāra who perhaps represented the cobblers. If we get information about the distribution of spoils of private individuals we may safely conclude that the assemblies scrutinised the spoils of a war or military campaign, as well, and distributed them in the most appropriate manner.

During the period covered by this thesis and in subsequent years, the agraharahārās played a very dominant role in raising the social, educational and cultural standards. "They constituted centres of learning and seats of higher education, fostered in more or less religious

environments which afforded suitable opportunities for the development of character of the pupils coming into constant personal contacts with the teachers"³⁸. They played a conspicuous part in the social organisation of the country. They constituted well organised local units enjoying a measure of autonomy in their own sphere, on the basis of the extent and number of families living in the area. Each agrahāra was under the management of its representatives who were designated as Mahājānās, the significance of whom has been described already.

^{The} An earliest inscription (Balligāne inscription) mentions the term 'Praja' as administering a village. Both the Mahājānās and the Praja solved local problems.

We have so far seen how village administration under the Chalukyas of Bādami was carried on^{on} the generally accepted principles of the age. That village administration was shared by the three systematically constituted bodies in their respective spheres of action may be conclusively gathered from an inscription of a slightly later period. It is stated in the Mundelli inscription of Devaraya³⁹ that the gift was to be maintained by the Wādu, Nakara and Grāma. Here the Wādu represented the Assembly.

During ^{this} and after a slightly later period, the elected or nominated head of the Wahajanas came to be called Urodeya⁴⁰. He was the local administrative head of a non-agrahara village^s also. Another word found in inscriptions and converging the same meaning of the term Urodeya is 'Prabhu' or chief or head. Another expression Gaudu^{vanit} found in inscriptions of later period was an equivalent of Urodeya or Prabhu.

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38. Corpus of Inscriptions from Kannada districts
of Hyderabad State.
- 38(a) Kukanūr Thirty formed Part of Belvola 300, a
bigger division. It was a major agrahara town
having an assembly of one thousand Mahājanas.
(A corpus of Inses. from Kar. Dts. of Hyd. State,
25).
- (b) Another instance of an effective and useful body -
the Mahājanas was 'one thousand Mahājanas' of
Lokkigundi. Lokkigundi was a great and opulent
brahminical agrahara which was administered by
the one thousand Mahājanas (P.B.Desai: Jainism
in south India, 141).

- (c) The name of a Chairman of a Mahajana is found in an epigraph relating to three Hundred Mahajanas of Sedimba. He was one Chadiraja; (Ibid, 217).
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CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION AND LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Section 1: An Epoch Making Period

The age of the western Chalukyas was an epoch-making period. For the period witnessed building up of a powerful empire in western part of Southern India which laid solid foundation for future empire. The period also saw the organisation of a strong military force for the stability and defense of the empire, inculcating a new spirit of freedom and soldierly qualities among the people, marvellous workmanship in art and architecture, network of educational centres, successful functioning of the guilds made possible by strong economic foundation, rise of cities which entered into commercial and diplomatic contact with outside countries and contributions to learning and literature. All these prosperous conditions and benevolent administrative organisation made the people happy and contented.

We will not be making an exaggerated statement if we say that the age of the Chalukyas constitutes a fundamental epoch in the history and culture of the Kannada land and its people, on account of emergence of a homogeneous territorial entity or province in the plateau and in the plains south of the Gōdāvarī including the

western coastal belt. This territory forming a part of Bharatavarsha evinced its characteristic features. "This united province which for the first time earned the comprehensive name Karnataka, comprised of several smaller tracts that existed previously under various names like Karnāṭaka, Kuntala, Lāṭa, Karhāṭa, Vanavāsa, Tuluva, Alvaḥbada, Gomantaka, Konkana, Punnata, and Mahishama. This unification and integration was brought about through his extensive conquests and annexations carried out by Pulakesi II, who raised a small kingdom to the status of a big empire."

This unification brought in its wake several wholesome results like promotion of the heroic spirit and organising capacity among the subjects whose loyalty and devotion were now "pinned on a single sovereign ruler". "Within a short time after this the kannada people were able to erect in self-defence as well as to assert their political aspirations."

Not only the enormous strength and striking power of the Karnataka forged again renown throughout India, but the period became one of great achievements in the spheres of social and religious life, language and art. "Consciousness of corporate living permeated through the social groups and communities who cherished profound sense of self-confidence and self-result."

Thus the foundations of all that was memorable, great, splendid and elevated in Kannada land and its people were firmly laid during this period. From this time onward, Karnataka proceeded on the path of all round prosperity and sprang to unrepresented grandeur as seen from later history.

Section II: Social and Economic Life:

Social Orders:

The social organisation although partaking of the traditional set up was a highly developed and solid one. The system of caste, however, prevailed.

The social orders conformed to the system of 'varna'. However, a contemporary sariti work of Pitamaha (7th cent. A.D.) quoted by Saritichandrika mentions 16 classes of people. The washermen and leather workers were outside the pale of Varnashrama.

Later poets like Harihara also refer to people as belonging to 16 groups or Samayas. The inscriptions of the Chalukyas give the names of 16 guilds or professions like cobblers, Stone-cutters, weavers, singers, actors, garland-makers, flower-sellers and the four varnas.

Hsuen-Tsang mentions that the Brahmins had a place of honour. Brahmins..... "Purely living..... these

keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity." It also supports this fact and says that they were the most honourable caste. The Chalukya inscriptions refer to Brahmins who were learned. For instance, Dhruvasarma knew Vedas, Vedangas, epics, Puranas, Nyaya and sacred writings. He also performed sacrifices. Another brahmin by name Paramesvara Sarvakratuyajin was known as 'ghavyasara' who studied ghatika, or Sanskrit Academy. Jayadvitta another learned brahmin was the preceptor of 400 brahmins, well versed in Vedas and 3 vidyas.

The Kshatriyas formed the next important class in society. According to Hiuen Tsang this class held "Sovereignty for many generations and its aims are benevolence and mercy". Pulakesi II is an instance in point. The third class of people belonged to traders and agriculturists, the former class referred to in inscriptions as Parada (harada) or merchant.

The Lakshmesvara pillar inscription mentions the guild of braziers (Kanchugaral oil (telliga) Architects and Temple-builders.

The organisation of the family and system of marriage were based and followed directions of the norms of the Dharma shastras. The position of women was not only one

of honour, but highly useful to society. Many of the women were great poets and some others made themselves good fighters also.

The spirit of the people in general may be known from the inscription of Kappa Arabhatta¹. This prasasti on a slab in the fort of Badāmi is in praise of a great person named Kappa Arabhatta who must have been a historic figure. Although details about him are lacking, the poems show that he must have been the beloved of his good relatives and friends, despised the evil and the wicked, whose influence was more in the age of Kali, 'He was stated to be good for the good, sweet and courteous to the courteous but the worst enemy to those who did harm

Life of the people in towns and cities and villages was, one of prosperity. The capital city was marked by pomp and decorum of the palace and the court. The towns with Pattanasetti as its head were flourishing. The villages had its amenities of rural life with its village councils which looked after works of public utility. Yuan Chwang describes the inhabitants in the following words." The inhabitants were proud, spirited, war-like, grateful for favours and revengeful for wars, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly..... The people were fond of learning and they combined orthodoxy and

heterodoxy."²

From a study of available material, we can observe that the people of this age enjoyed all the benefits of corporate life. The paintings at Ajanta show that women used for dress the sarees, kuppuses and stitched petticoats. Their ornaments consisted of kadaga, kankana, causara, nūpura, katisutra, muktali, mūgutti, tālī and a few others.³

Belief in astrology, astronomy, and other superstitions were common.

Among the chief festivals which were popular were the Mahānavamī, dipavali and car festivals or rathotsava. They were observed with pomp and brilliance.

Hunting, horse-riding, and animal fights formed the main amusements.

That the people possessed high spirits and aptitudes is indicated by an inscription on a rock near the śibara on the way to Mahākūta. It states that 'death is preferable to dishonour for the former gives instantaneous pain while the latter gives mortification day after day. 'Kappe Arabhatta to whom a reference has been made already may be taken to represent the spirit of independent^{care} love of freedom which the people had in these times⁴.

(ii) Corporate Life

A striking feature of the social and economic life of the people was the organisation of corporate life to which reference has already been made. Here we may proceed to describe some of the salient features of corporate life in Karnatak. Group organisations in political, social and economic matters had been formed. Some of them were called by the name 'Aryasanghae' or Assembly of monks. There were thousands of Buddhist monks and hundred viharas in Pulakesi's kingdom.

Villages and towns and cities formed their own corporations which were entrusted by the Central government in the work of associating the subjects with administration of the kingdom. These organisations were the assemblies in villages and guilds in towns and cities.

The system of organising assemblies or panchayats in villages may be traced to the Kadamba times. The village developed into a self-contained unit with an assembly in council looking after law and justice, the Nadagunda or Gavunda i.e. the headman looking after revenue collection, the accountant looking after accounts, the talavara or watchman doing police duty and the eighteen castes with their hereditary trade or handicraft in order to provide for all the agricultural and other needs of the village.

Similarly in towns the municipal bodies and trade guilds fostered a state of civic consciousness. Since the time of the Kadambas, all important towns had a corporation and town may-or called Pattanaswami. The kings often granted special constitutions to the towns according to which the citizens had to conduct themselves in the affairs of the city. Details of town administration by guilds have been described already. To be brief, these associations of merchants regulated the economic life of the town and were the centre of activity in the city thus performing social and religious functions also. Every guild had an executive the strength of which varied with its membership and activities. They had their own police forces banners, umbrellas and chevries. Their banks were noted for stability and public confidence. The functions of the guilds became efficient and very powerful and ~~during the~~ progressive in Vijayanagar days to the extent of conferring on some of the highest government officials the *rūpa* and dignity of the Prithvisetti (Mayer of the Earth) and perform other authoritative functions.

The corporate activities in Karnataka show how kingly authority had been harmoniously blended with democratic principles.⁵

(iii) Dress and Ornaments:

According to Hiuen-Tsang, the Kshatriyas and Brahmins led a pure, simple and frugal life. He says that the "dress and ornaments of the kings and grandees were extraordinary, garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head adornments and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces⁶. He says further "The inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring, as to colour, a fresh white is esteemed and motely is of no account; the men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and upto the arm pits and leave the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls down loose; the hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil, all the rest of the hair hanging down.⁷ This description is supported by Itsing also. The description of dress by the foreigners fits in well when we observe the figures of male and female, in rock-cut temples. The figures depict the use of variety of ear-rings, necklaces, armlets bracelets, girdles, rings and elaborate head-dresses and coiffures. The folds of the dress of a female are delicately carved.

Several ports were situated in the Chalukya dominions. According to Kosmas Indikaplen stus, a trader from Alexandria, Kalyana, Mangalore (Mangalore) and male were prominent ports.

The articles of export consisted of silks, aloes, clove-wood, sandal-wood, pepper, sesamewood. The region of Male contained five marts. Male kingdom has been identified by Dr. Salatore as western part of *Varanashaka*.

(iv) Food habits:

Hsuen-Tsang says that "it is impossible to enumerate all the kinds of fruits and one can only mention in a summary way those which were held in esteem among the inhabitants and he especially mentions that "the pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown in all the other countries..... There is much rice and wheat, ginger, mustard, melons, pumpkins..... onions and garlic and little use! and people who eat them are ostracised"⁸.

About common food, the Chinese pilgrim writes, "milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugarcandy, cakes and parched grain with mustard seeds are the common food and fish, mutton and venison are occasional dainties"⁹. It also adds that "all food..... is excellently prepared. Ghee, oil, milk and cream are found everywhere. Such things as cakes and fruits are so abundant that it is difficult to enumerate them here..... None of the people of all five parts of India eat any kind of onions"¹⁰. Inscriptions, however give scanty information on this, but say of millet, rice, sugar, oil, turmeric.....

Regarding the drinks that were commonly used, a contemporary work known as Pulastya Smṛiti mentions eleven intoxicants and sura, as the twelfth one. Hiuen-tsang further observes that, "the wines from the vine and sugar cane are the drinks of the Kshatriyas; the Vaishyas drink a strong distilled spirit; the Buddhist monks and brahmins drink a syrup of grapes and of sugarcane; the low mixed castes are without any distinguishing drink."¹¹

How true is the picture of Hiuen-tsang in many respects, about the food habits of the people of Karnataka even at the present times!

Section III: Religion, Religious faiths and beliefs:

(1) Religion and Religious Faiths:

The religious history of the Chālukyas of Badami is marked by variety. Their land was open to all the great religions of India and the world apart from the religions and sects that sprang up or flourished on the soil of Karnataka. The foreign influences in this region may be partly attributed to the innate goodness of the people and partly to their readiness to accept and tolerate what is new and good. The hospitality and courtesy of the people have been very much responsible for the great variety which marks the life of the community. Vedic religion, meditation, performance of sacrifices, devotion to

God Siva or Vishnu^h and Dravidian forms of Worship and also the worship of Sakti followed sometimes by animal sacrifices have been common among the people of this region. An instance of the refined concept of the Mother goddess may be seen in the worship of the 'Saptamātrikas' (Seven mothers of mankind). Siva, Skanda, Ganapati were well known. In Karnataka, Skanda was known as Kartikeya, Svami Mahāseṇa and Shanmukha. In south India this god was known as Subrahmanya and Muruga. A large devotional and theological literature has grown round Skanda in Tamilnad. Inscriptions of the Chālukyas contain references to the above gods and goddesses.

In the same way the Chālukya kings and all the people in their dominions worshipped with reference to the duty of Banashankari. This goddess is known by several names like Shankambhari, Yellamma, Channundēvari etc. Even to this day several people from different parts of the country visit the shrine and offer their obeisance particularly during the car festival occasion^h in the month of Pushya every year. This diety represents the worship of the female element or Sakti whose benign influence is prayed for by kings and people intimes of severe distress, trouble by enemies and wicked people and success in war also^o.

The following slokas from the Skanda Purana indicate the powers and influence of this diety and the faith of the people as well:

Khadgam ghanṭam trishūlam lipivishadataras
 bibhrati dakṣhaḥṣṭaihi |
 Pātram śirṣam sukhētam damarukamanisham vāṇabhaihi tri-
 netram "
 Simhatham tārahāreṅgaḍa mahamakutām dyōtayatīm
 Prāṇamānā |
 Vande Pūrnendu bibhā Pratirudrira mukhā Sankarā^{rim}
 Sankarēṣṭam "

Vande Vandanu Vrindarevallaria banashankarim ,
 Sankarim Jagatam devim Adisaktim maheswarin "

Naumi śhāntam bhagavatim śhakha^h
 phritatāpasam śhakha^{upa}berim ✓
 Subhakarim bhaktabbhīṣṭa varapradam "

The shrine of Banashankari is situated six miles from Bādami. Only 2 miles from this shrine is another great centre of religious activity even to this day viz., Mahakuta where Śiva Shrines are to be seen.

Worship of Gaṇapati and Viṣṇu, the latter in the forms of Venkatarāman or Rāṅja was also held in great esteem as indicated by the temples in the vicinity of Bādami.

In the same way in subsequent periods Jainism and Buddhism with their common doctrine of ahimsa became a successful religions. However, Jainism lasted longer than Buddhism. After the 8th century A.D. onwards we notice the rise and influence of different sects and leaders like those of Saṅkara, Rāmanuja, Madhva, Acharya, Haridāsa (like Tikacharya, Raghavēndrasvāmī Puruṇḍar dāsa etc.) and Basava. From the 14th century A.D. onwards Islam and Christianity exerted their influence on the people of this country. Thus "Karnataka has been either the birth place or nursery of several faiths and sects"¹³. It has made its unique contribution to Indian culture by the characteristic variety of its religious life in general and by the indigenous character of some of its faiths and practices in particular.

The Chalukya kings extended their patronage to Jainism, Buddhism and other faiths as well. The Chalukya kings were the votaries of the vedic religion. The Trinity cult viz., Worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahēśvara was in vogue. A remarkable feature of the period is the absence of sectarian spirit. The kings exhibited remarkably the principle of religious tolerance and universal patronage to the several sects and faiths which existed in their dominions. They continued the spirit of toleration and gave ample patronage commenced since the days of the Satavarahas, the Kadambas and the Gangas

which produced a catholic outlook on the life of the people.

The early Chālukyas were the votaries of the sacrificial religion and devotees of God Vishnu. The inscriptions of the Chālukya kings frequently speak of the attainment of prosperity by them through Bhagavan Narayana. The kings adopted the varāha lanchana on their seals. Invocatory and introductory verses in the Chālukya inscriptions read as follows:

Jayati āvishkṛitā viśṇoḥ varāham kṣobhitānavam
Dakṣiṇonṛtā dāmodhṛagrā viśhrāṣṭa bhavnam vapah

'Victorious is the Boar, the manifested form of Vishnu which dispersed the waters of the ocean and bore up the peaceful earth on the tip of its strong right turn). Inscriptions describe how they performed a number of sacrifices including the Aśvamedha. Brahmin scholars wrote works on sacrificial ritual.¹⁴

Upto the end of the 4th century A.D. Vaishnavism was popular. The kings bore the title, 'Parama bhāgavata' (devout worshipper of Vishnu), Friṣṭhivallabha, Sri Prithivīvallabha and Prithivīvallabha. This attitude of kings show their devotion to Vaiśhṇavism. Belief and worship of avatars (in incarnations of Vishnu) and the conception of Lakṣmī, Prithvī and two consorts of Vishnu, found often repeated in inscriptions show the king's belief in Vaiśhṇa-vism.

Similarly the bas reliefs at Bādāmi (111 cave) describe Vishnu reclining on a serpent with Lakshmi sitting at His feet, the Boar (Varaha) and Narasimha (Man-lion), incarnations of Vishnu and also a few sculptures of rock-cut temple at Bādāmi describing Varaha and Narasimha avatars, prove the popularity of Vaishnavism in this period.

Panduranga Palli or modern Pondharpur has been a place of note since the 6th century A.D. God Vitthala has been held in great veneration since then. The learned brahmin Jayadvitta was the preceptor of 400 brahmins at Pancherangapalli. Temples enshrining the Hindu triad - Brahma, Vishnu and Mahasvara were built and gifts were freely made to Brahmins. It will be apt here to cite the observation made by Dr. Fleet. Says he, "The Kuladevata or family god of the Chalukyas was Vishnu; and the principal emblem that the seals of their grants and other coins always bear is a boar, derived from one of the incarnations of Vishnu. But, in spite of this fact, in early times, they displayed a considerable amount of tolerance in matters of religion and patronised the Jaina and saiva equally with the Vaishnava faiths. And in the later generations they devoted themselves almost entirely to the saiva religion particularly in the linga form of worship"¹⁵. The first cave at Bādāmi is a saiva cave with Natarāja, Harihara, Mahisasurasardhini. In the inner shrine there is a linga. The Mahākūta temple also belongs to this period. Pulakēśi I, Kirtivarma I and

Mangalēśa were the worshippers of Śiva. Vikramāditya I has been styled as Parama-Mahēśvara or devout worshipper of Śiva. Temples with the image of Śiva at Eadasi, Pattadakal, Aihole and Mahakūta are the finest. They all obtained rich endowments from the kings. Mangalēśa made endowments to God Mahakūtesvara. It is stated that Mahasamanta Happuvarasa came all the way to pay homage to the God (Vagudake vandu).

Jainism also flourished. Ravikīrti the Jaina poet "received highest favour from Pulakēśi II". The Aihole record speaks of the poet in the following manner:

"Satyāśraya Paramapṭavata Prasadaṁ." The temple of Jinendra now called the Meguti temple shows the great respect which Jainism received at the hands of Pulakēśi II.

Even Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya gave large gifts to Jaina temples.

In this connection, it is apt to note the observation of Dr. P. P. Desai. Says he that at Aihole we may find the earliest survival of Jainism depicted on the stone in Meguti temple at Aihole. "It enlogises the military exploits of the renowned Western Chālukya monarch, Pulakēśi II. Its author, an adherent of Jaina doctrine and probably an ascetic of the monastic order of Yapaniyas as suggested by Dr. Upadhye. With the generous support of the king, he

founded a jaina shrine and wrote the Prasasti, a standing monument to the Catholic outlook of the rulers and the respectable position enjoyed by the followers of the jaina Law in the kingdom. Ravikirti's claims to the literary art could not have rested on this single piece alone and he must have tried his hand also on other works which unfortunately remain unknown".

The religious life of the people and kings who was admirably marked by the spirit of toleration. At Aihole we may see the figure of a 'tirthankara'. Similarly at Badami we may observe the figure of the Buddha in the form of 'Padmapani'. Vikramaditya II's rich donations to Rajasimhasvara temple at Kanchi is another instance in point. Hiuen-Tsang mentions an old image - 'Pusa' of marvellous efficacy and another image of Buddha, 70 feet high in the capital city which is now lost.

Several of the paintings and sculptures in the Chalukya dominions were influenced by the methods used in Ajanta and Ellora. Five cave temples were constructed at Badami: one for Buddhists, one for Jaina and three for Brahmanical deities. Installation of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara in one of the cave temples shows establishment of unity of gods. Saiva and Vaishnava sculptures are found at Aihole and Pattadakal. The Dasavatara cave temple at Badami depicts a carving of Harihara in lower

panel. The figure shows Hara in right half of central figure with Saivite qualities and emblems and Hari in the left half with Vaishnava features, attended by Parvati and Nandi in the right and Lakshmi and Garuda in the left.

(ii) Monastic life:

Hsuen-Tsang gives a very detailed description of life of monks in monasteries. Care was taken to maintain cleanliness. According to It -sing 'The Indian lecture halls and dining rooms are never furnished with large couches, but there are only blocks of wood and small chairs on which people sit while hearing a lecture or having meals. Such is the proper manner'¹⁶.

(iii) Religion and Social Life:

The social life of the people who largely influenced by their religious spirit and form. The urge behind their activities was essentially religious in the sense that they yearned to please God or acquire merit by good deeds in their personal and social life. At least this was true of the majority of people although there were a few given to wicked actions. As may be gleaned from the various epigraphs and the literature of later periods the people possessed and practised certain ideals. For instance tyaga or renunciation and bhoga or enjoyment

have been practised in their perfect balance. It will not be an exaggeration if we say that they followed the spirit of "seeing life as a whole"¹⁷. In one of the later literary work we come across the following: "they indeed are men who are the abode of remuneration, enjoyment musical talent, bearing and culture and love of company"¹⁸. In another work of a still later period we may discuss that the ideal of an integrated life - a life comprehending both tyāga and bhōga, Karma and Jnana was held in esteem and practised. Indeed the people of this land have lived upto an ambitious and high principles in their social and religious life.

Another remarkable feature of social life of the people is the spirit of accommodation and the feeling of attinity among people of all sections and levels of society. The manner in which the people of a village or town get together in times of a festival or fair and render unstinted service and cooperation in corporate activities is indicative of the spirit behind it, which has become part of the traditions of the people.

The spirit of ^{selfless} service and sacrifice permeated the entire civic life of the people. Besides this they had a natural attitude of doing good to others either by the social urge for fame or the religious urge for merit (Punya). The tanks they built, the facilities of drinking

they provided for, the temples they built and endowed the educational centres they formed, the shady-trees they planted, the relief measures they gave during times of famine and similar activities of philanthropy and charity were the hall-mark of their high culture. Without discrimination of high or low, rich or poor they had a very common belief to give their best for the welfare of the land. Even the poorest man had a second nature of being hospitable and cordial.

The social virtues mentioned in the foregoing pages were fostered by the intellectual and moral leadership of the community which in turn was promoted by the educational centres. Education was more intensive than extensive and helpful in training the best manner the intellects of the age. This helped them to render the highest service to society.

The social and religious institutions which kept up the springs of culture alive centred round the temple. Recital of Purāṇas, Hari Kīrtanas, Poems were heard by the people with divēṣion. Faith in god and in goodness among the largest number in society prompted their best behaviour.

People also had certain defects in the sense that they were highly emotional and were unsteady in nature. Often their activities were sporadic. A sustained and

systematic building up of an individual and collective life were rare. Worship of several gods and goddesses for material gain or for fear was common particularly in villages. People also believed in a strange fatalism which is the wrong notion of devotion to God, more the people inactive and docile. These shortcomings were partly due to geographical factors of this region. But apart from these the people contributed a good deal to culture by their lofty ideals, spirit and actions.

(iv) Spirit of toleration:

The kings not only showed religious tolerance but also a flexibility of religious temper. It is worthwhile to note that in the region of Kirtivarma I, he made endowments to a jaina temple at Adur. He also saw to the commencement of construction of Vaisnava cave (no. 111) at Bādāmi. Even the feudatory princes in different parts of the empire followed their rulers in this direction.

The Rāstrakūṭa kings followed the same spirit of sympathetic toleration towards all faiths and sects.

(v) Bhakti cult:

The Bhakti cult was an important aspect of the religious life of the people. It has also enriched the various faiths and religions, which we have noted already. However, we may note with greatest sense of pride that

the Bhakti cult became a dominant phase of the people of this area from and after the ruler^{of} Chālukya kings as is clear from the great impetus that Vedic religion, Jainism Buddhism and other faiths received at the hands of the rulers.

Section IV: Construction of Temples:

(1) Temples

Let us now make a brief survey of how the religious fervour and the charitable disposition of kings and peoples found that expression in the construction of living monuments like the temples etc. and how endowments were made for the maintenance and proper functioning of the temples.

According to the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription, both Pulakēśi I and Kīrtivarma made an endowment in favour of God Mahakūṭeswara whose temple is at Mahakūṭa, in modern Bijapur district.

Vijayāditya built the magnificent temple of Śiva in the name of Vijayēśwara, called at present Sangameswara temple at Pattadakal in Bijapur district. He was tolerant towards Jainism and donated villages to Jain teachers. According to the two spurious grant edited by Prof. Kielhorn, the king had a Jain teacher from whom he took advice. His younger sister Kunkumamahadevi built the Jain temple called Ānasejjevasadi at Lakshmeswar.

An inscription at the Mahākūta temple records the gifts of the courtesan Vināpōti who is described as 'the Soul's darling of Vijayāditya.

The Annigeri inscription of Kīrthīvarma II¹⁹ in front of the Banashankari temple refers to the construction of a chēdiya or stone chaitya. This chaitya may not belong to the Banashankari temple. The purpose of the inscription is to record the building of a chēdiya or chaitya, jaina temple by Kaliyamma who was holding office of the headman at Jebulgeri. It also refers to the erection in front of it a sculpture by a certain Kondisulara-kuppa. His other name was Kīrthīvarma Gosasi. So the latter is the name of his master Prabhunandan as stated in the last line.

Kīrthīvarma II also made a grant in honour of God parameśvara or Śiva at the Ramesvaratirtha on the Tungabhadra.

According to the Bādāmi inscription of Vijayāditya²⁰ Vinayavati endowed a gift of incomes and taxes for worship in the temple which is now called Jambulinga temple and is enshrined with a linga only.

Prof. R. S. Panohamukhi is of the view that temples dedicated to trinity i.e. Brahma, Vishnu and Mahēśvara, are common in erstwhile Bombay-Karnatak area. In some

cases, trinity of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Aditya or Sun God is found. Still in some other cases, the figure of Venkateśa with discus and conch in his hands in place of Viṣṇu in the trinity is found.

Such temples at Badami denote popularity of the trimurthi cult.

~~Such~~
In the region ruled over by the western Chalukyas we find several Jaina centres. For instance, Adur which was known as Gangi-pandivuru next to Aihole was a famous Jaina centre, in the 7th century. Jaina caves exist in Aihole and Badami. It is a well-known that the Jaina sanctuary at Aihole was established by Havikirthi, a prominent officer and poet under Pulakesi II. This shows the spread of Jainism in Karnatak in that early period and the patronage given to it by the Chalukyan kings.

Another jaina centre was Puligere or Lakṣmēśwar. It was famous for Jaina cultural heretics as is proved by the stone copies of inscriptions relating to the creation of Jain temples in the place. Next to the famous place of Sravanabelagola, this village is well known for Jaina rituals and traditions.

Another jaina resort is Koppal. It is full of Jain relics indicating that the place must have been a strong hold of jaina influence in the 7th and 8th centuries.

It was a resort for jaina monks. Jain saints like Sarvanandi and Jatasīnganandi-acharya find mention in the records. Keppal is said to have contained 772 basadis and jaina remains are found in plenty in the adjoining area.

Adur, Puligere and Okkunda near Palaige, Keppal Kisuvoal were the centres of jaina culture.

The British Museum plates of Pulikesi I describes the construction of an excellent and large jaina temple in the city. It reads, Having acquired the district of Kubundi through his favour - while governing it, he was as glorious as Mahendra, in his piety caused to be made an excellent and large and very charming temple, a shrine of Jinendra in the east quarter in the city which was named Alaktaka and was included in (that district) and which was the chief town of (acircle of) 700 villages; and which was the glory of the whole district; and which abounded in sali and vrihi rice and groves of sugar canes and chick-peas and ^{Priyamgu} priya^{gu}-ager plants and ^{Vanaka} varka beans and Udaraka-grain and Syamaka grain and wheat and many other kinds of grain and which shone like the lotus which is the fan of the lovely women which is that district and which was the full of husbandmen who abounded in wealth and grain. "This describes grant of field and charter to the jina shrine by Sri Satyāśraya".

The Virūpakṣa temple is well known for its depiction of scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa inside the temple. (CIx 11)

A pillar known as 'Lakṣmī Kambha'²¹ or Pillar of the Goddess Lakṣmī is found in the house of Parappa Pūjari. It is a monolith pillar. It records that a large stone temple of the God Lokēśwara was built by the queen-consort (Mahādēvi) of Vikramāditya II the son of Vijayaditya. The queen belonged to the Haihaya family. The pillar inscription also states that some lands measured by nivartanaṇa were granted to it.

The temple of Lokēśwara or Virūpakṣa was built to the south of the temple of God Vijayēśwara. It was built by Vijayaditya. This latter temple still exists and is identified by the inscriptions inside it as well as by its position though it is now called the temple of Saṅgaśēśwara. Some stone tablets have been found on the south side of the door leading into the shrine. They contain some emblems. In the centre a linga and priest either right a figure of Maṇḍi or Baṣava with the Sun above it and on their left a cow and a calf with the moon above. The inscription is that of a Śiṇḍa house of the time of Chāluvaṇḍa.

(xciv) The Bādami inscription in the temple of Mahakuta records that one of Vijayāditya's concubine Vināpōti caused a pedestal of rubies and a silver umbrella to be made for the idol and granted a field for its support.

She is said to be the 'heart's darling of Vijayāditya'²².

Vināpōti's grandmother was Revā mānchal. Her daughter was Kunchipoll whose daughter was Vināpōti. Vināpōti is said to have bestowed the entire gift of a hiranyagarbha and having made a pedestal for the God with rubies and having set up its silver umbrella gave the field called Mangaluru (of the measure of) eight hundred....." (line 4).

(ii) Aesthetic traditions

The aestetic^h tradition and culture of Karnatak comprised all the fine arts from architecture and sculpture to literature and music. Even the Chālukyas of Bādāmi exhibited great aesthetic sensibility. They produced an original style of architecture and modes of sculpture. Chalukya period is noted for saiva and viṣṇu^h temples and Chaṛityas^h and basadis.

The Chālukya style is mostly influenced by the early dravidians style and therefore the features of the latter apply to the former in many respects. James Fergusson classifies south Indian architecture into two styles: Dravidian and Chālukyan²³. Of the dravidian type in Karnatak he includes Kailas, Elura, Pattadakal and Dharwar temples. Under Chālukya style he includes all the remaining monuments of Ittagi, Gadag etc. Including different modes of temple, construction under one style is not scientific because every form of art has its

origin in the past and its development in the future. Architecture in Karnatak received its inspiration from Dravidian in its beginning, but in course of time it developed into a distinctive form which may be called Chalukya style of architecture. As the most outstanding monuments in these styles were built during the regime of Chalukya kings under their patronage and mostly in their territorial units their mode of temple building deserves a distinctive name.

The Chalukya style is marked by the following features: The temple consists of five parts known as Visnava, which includes the sanctum sanctorum or Central shrine and the Sukanasi, Mahamantapa, Gopura and the Mahadvara Hajara and dvaramantapa. The stone used was Kaggellu or granite. "The ground plan is four cornered and the top structure above resembles a Buddhist stupa. Generally there is one garbagudi with a chief image. On the whole it is the prominence which is given to the lofty tower on the main gate rather than the tower or dravida style from the rest. In the imitation of the dravida mode the Chalukya temples added a feature of their own which later on became a conspicuous trait of the Hoysala style. "In the Pure Dravidian temple, the carvings are simple and rarely over-ornate, but the Chalukya artists were fond of superb decoration."²⁴.

The temples of the Chālukya style are scattered over the area over which they held sway mostly in north Karnataka in places like Badami, Aihole, Pattadakal, Ittagi etc.

These temples have been admired by critics of art. The temple of Ittagi is noted for mostly architecture unmixed with sculpture. Says will Durant "only a Hindu Pietist rich in words could describe the lovely symmetry of the shrine at Ittagi"²⁵. "Here" writes Meadows Taylor, "The carving on some of the pillars and of the lintels and architraves of the doors, is quite beyond description. No chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer."²⁶ James Fergusson observes "at Ittagi is a large saiva temple which must be regarded as one of the most highly finished and architecturally perfect of the Chālukya shrines that have come down to us"²⁷ "In the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal which is a place remarkable for some of the finest and most interesting structural temples in India"²⁸. These influences of style is also found on some temples outside India i.e. Java.

(iii) Music: Although the material in regard to Karnatak music of this period is scanty, we may say that a distinct type of music blending the Aryan and dravidian styles made its distinct development in this region.

It is known as 'Karnāṭaka Sangeeta' or also called as 'Dakṣiṇādī' owing to its origin in the south. In addition to the recital of poetry (gāṇakakāla) and the devotional songs developed distinctly in this land. Dance which was allied to music also became well developed. From an inscription at Pattadakal we learn about the existence of a very well known actor called Nata Sevya in 800 A.D. He was noted as very highly scientific dancer and actor. His name was 'Aṇḥalan'. He had studied Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra in detail. He also knew the technique of drama and acting. He was a reputed dancer and actor. He is regarded as the first dancer and actor of Karnataka and called 'Nāṭasevya' or one to whom actors paid homage. All these developments are reflected in the Kannada literature of the period and subsequently periods.

The theatre was represented by folk plays based on epic and historical themes which are today called as Baylāṭa and Yakṣagāṇa.

(iv) Art and Architecture

The Chālukya period also witnessed development and progress of a new style of architecture. Their earliest temple at Uttarēswara and Kalēswara at Ter were built of brick. The Chālukyas developed temples in the 6th century A.D. showing some trace of dravidian style²⁹. They are the temples of Pattadakal, Meguti and Jain temples at Aihole.

Referring to the Virūpaksha temple, Anada Coomaraswamy observes "The Virupaksha temple was most likely built by workmen brought from Kāñchipuram and in direct imitation of Kailasanatha at Kañchipuram. The main shrine is distinct from the Mandapam, but has a pradakshina passage; the pillared passmandapam has solid walls, with pierced stone windows. The square sikhara consists of clearly defined storeys, each of considerable elevation. The chaitya motifs are much used and there are many sculptured lintels slabs and monolithic pillars; the sculptures include representations of Śiva, Nāgas, and Nagins and Ramayana scenes. Like other early dravidian temples it is built of very large closely jointed blocks of stone without mortar. It is one of the best structures in India"³⁰.

The Papanatha temple is a modest structure. It is notable for sculptures of Ramayana. The heroes of this great epic are engraved in prakrit form like Raman, Sita, Lakkana, Jatayu, Sugriva, Bali, Angayan, Ravana, Suppanaki, Kara-Dusana, Bhimassana, Sri Baladeva, Hanan, Vibhishanan and Kumbharman. (No cxiv)³¹.

One inscription in the front or east face of the temple is in praise of one Revadi ovajja, who it is said 'made the southern country' or 'the builder of the most

celebrated temple in the southern country'. It is doubted whether he built the temple. The inscription tells about the readministration of the artisans of the locality into their caste, and also gives several titles of the builder of the temple. Among them is the name of Sarvasiddhi Acharya also. This name is again mentioned in No. cxiv. These artisans might well be the members of some celebrated guild of architects or builders.

The inscription reads 'Hail'. Chattera-Ravadi-Ovajja of the Sarvasiddhi Acharyas who was acquainted with the secrets of Sri Silamuddas....' must have been the name of some particular guild of stone masons.³² He made the most beautiful temple of the southern country.

Aihole is also famous for the Durga temple. In this temple there are some features of Kadamba style of architecture. Dr.A.P.Karmarkar says that the Papanatha temple almost contemporary with the Virupaksha is in a different style with a true Aryavarta sikhara and with wall-niches of corresponding form; this temple may fairly be described as a cross between the dravidian and Aryavarta styles.³³

(v) Sculpture:

Sculptural designs are mainly found in the caves at Ajanta, Aihole, Pattadakal and Badami³⁴. The Durga

and Virūpakṣa temples at Aihole, the Kameswara cave at Ellora, the facade and capitals of the pillars in caves nos. I and xxiv at Ajanta contain marvellous specimens of sculpture. E.B.Havell observes that the Daśavatāra sculptures at Ellora are the finest of Hindu sculpture. The figures of Viṣṇu Viratrūpa and Vāmanaavatara³⁵ are also specimens of exquisite sculpture. At Badami the image of Nārāyaṇa at Aihole form the finest representations of sculpture.

E.B.Havell, referring to the image of Nārāyaṇa says, "it is an unusual representation of Nārāyaṇa in the snake world of cosmic ocean, seated in the pose of royal ease on the coils of Ananta, but with four arms bearing only the chakra and war trumpet. Two graceful nagins, the snake goddesses whose magic powers and seductive charms play a great part in Indian folk-lore, flit lightly as butterflies round the deity bringing their offerings. The playful rhythm of their sinuous serpentine bodies, drawn by a most accomplished hand, fill the whole sculpture with the scene of supreme delight which is said to belong to Viṣṇu's Paradise."³⁶

(vi) Paintings

The Chalukya period was also at its best in painting. The caves built by the early chalukyas indicate

the truth of this statement. Representations at Ajanta, Ellora, and those of the Chalukya kings at Kañchi exhibit the most important mass of ancient painting extant in the world. Some paintings show the portrait of the Buddha and the Bōdhisattava. Some others depict social life. In cave No. I one may come across a love scene. Cave IX depicts a woman in sitting posture. Another portrait in the same cave shows a king and a woman. Cave II depicts a standing woman³⁷.

Referring to paintings at Ajanta caves Mr. Fergusson points out that "he had never seen anything in China, approaching its (Ajant) perfection. Similarly Dr. Smith, Griffiths have nothing but all praise painting at Ellora and other places. "The frescoes of Ajanta are the only glorious heritage of Indian Art between the first century B.C. and 700 A.D. we may infer on the strength of the extensive dominions of the Chalukyas that artists from this part may have made their little contribution to the amazing art of Ajanta. There is no doubt that many of the Paintings were done under the patronage of the Chalukya rulers, specially of Pulakesi II (7th century A.D.) who is himself represented in one of the frescoes"³⁸.

The Chalukya painters continued the best traditions of the Gupta period. The Durga temple at Aihole is

noted for dvaramantapa or Assembly Hall, Sanctum Sanctorum with its vimana. The dvaramantapa is supported by pillars from the front to the end of the temple. The pillars contain figures of dancing poses and design similar to the pearl necklace. The temple resembles the shade of Goddess of the gods.

Chalukya art supersedes the stupas in execution and design. The sculptures show the images in lively, playful mode, and clear cut features. The images of gandharva and kinnara figures at the top of the stupa are really superb. They show the sculptor's skill at art, at its best³⁹.

Some scholars are of the opinion that art at Aihole shows the fulfilment of characteristic features of early Egyptian art and Grecian art as well.

Prof. G.C. Ganguly⁴⁰ is of the opinion that Kailas temple at Ellora partakes many of the features of the temple at Pattadakal. In fact the Paragurama temple at Bhuvanagwar built in A.D. 755 resembles the Papanatha temple of Pattadakal. All authorities on art and architecture are of the opinion that the Chalukya style of architecture has won a high place in Indian art. In the opinion of two French scholars, namely, Rambak and Digel, have considered Chalukya period of Architecture as the golden age of Indian art and architecture.

It is noteworthy here to recall the words of Henrick Ziemer. He says that one wonders whether any other age in the history of human art, may be found other than that of the Chalukya art. He states that he himself is struck with wonder and admiration. He further says that the architects and artists who worked at the Chalukya centres of art showed any signs of tiredness or pain in completing their structures. He speaks highly about the sculptures of men and women and says that they look like angels in Heaven.

Spectators and Visitors are filled with delight and a sense of beauty at the monuments of the Chalukyan period. They are found scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country - Badami, Mahakuta, Pattadakal, Aihole, Banashankari, Lakkundi, Haveri, Jadanapur, Neeralgi, Nakalahalli, Managal, Galaganath, Harihar, Sankapur, Anavatti, Itagi, Gadag, Dambal, Belgaum, Chikah, and other places.

Section VI: Education and Literature:

(1) Education:

Several educational agencies promoted intensive study. In each period Sanskrit was taught in the Ashram or Pathashala. The rise of Jain and Buddhist forms of

religion made the study of Prakrit: A number of Viharas and monasteries came into existence. The Jaina centres gave a large impetus to the study of Kannada besides Sanskrit and Prakrit, from the 4th and 5th century A.D. Higher education was ^{in vogue} ~~imposed~~ at several centres which have been called by different names like the Agrahara, the Brahmapuri, the Matha and the Ghatika. Says Moras "The most important of the establishments was the agrahara, consisting of a community of learned brahmins, whose profound scholarship attracted students from different places. It was here that people of diverse races and religions assembled. The agraharas may therefore be said to have constituted the real universities of medieval India, stadium general or the schools of universal learning"³⁴. A large number of agraharas existed and received munificence of the state and the public. The Agrahara was mostly a village situated in the midst of natural surroundings. It formed an entire unit by itself and resembled the modern residential universities. Facilities of lodging and food were provided freely. Ilagund was one of the earliest agraharas. Balligame was another. Badami, Aihole, Talakada, Gokarna and in later times saletagi Balligame and others were some of the agraharas which flourished. These centres taught the Vedic knowledge, purana, suriti, darsana, language, literature, poetry, dramaturgy and other fine arts."⁴¹

Specialisation in these subjects, development of faculties like retentiveness, debates and ready wit were a few of the striking features of the agraharas. Some Agraharas also had mathas of Jains and Buddhists. Though there were religious differences among these centres there was perfect cooperation and goodwill in matters of offering service in education and learning. Agrahara, Brahmapuri and Ghettika were preeminently Brahmin centres. But the Jain and Naiva institutions grew up in Hastinapur and Jatus established in many parts of the country. They are contributed in bringing out studies in Kannada literature, besides Sanskrit and poetry and similar sciences. Their work in the propagation and building up rich libraries in several centres of Karnataka was a really stupendous and splendid achievement.

The Chalukya empire was very well known for several centres of learning which augmented its progress. The country thronged with a number of agraharas, Buddhist viharas, mathas and temples which not merely imparted learning but produced many brilliant persons in literature. In addition to these, the Mahajanas were noted for marvellous service in the field of promotion of learning and other services because they were autonomous institutions.

The Badami Pillar inscription in the Jambulinga temple while recording installation of Gods Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara in the capital city describes Vātāpi as an adhithana⁴³ which is adorned by several thousands of excellent dvijas endowed with the knowledge of 14 sciences (vidya) and was highly esteemed by the great kings headed by Satyaśraya" and Vinayavati, his mother⁴⁴. This institution is regarded as a religious college built of stone.

Third part of an inscription⁴² of Karasimhadeva mentions certain terms which bespeak of the value attached to high learning. While referring to a grant to one Devagaya of the lineage of the Mulasangha, he is stated to have performed the most austere penances. He was the symbol of holy learning. He was free from sorrow. He was the house. Pupil (Ange vanin) and lived with the teacher. He overcame those that opposed him in argument. He had attained singleness of speech and other qualities.

It reads as follows:

Khyata mahāprabhava Bharatagaṇayukta bahuprakarada
matinolella mēno natisevyana munthe othektha-
margadinde teradelludagratala sennohara
mambudidendu pelvadinnatane nattarkas natarolaggalasi
bhuvanantaralado .

(ii) Literature:Growth of Sanskrit language and literature:

Karnataka saw one of its best and most glorious periods of history in arts and literature.

Inscriptions mention that the crown prince was given education in many of the sanskrit treatises like the code of Manu, the Puranas, the Ramayana, Mahabharata and Itihasas. This is enough to infer that the study of sanskrit literature was held in great esteem by the kings. Further, some of the inscriptions like the Mahakuta and Aihole inscriptions are very fine examples of composition of a literary piece in sanskrit. The Aihole inscription speaks of the abilities of the poet Ravikeerti which were in no way inferior to those of Bana, the greatest sanskrit poet of King Harsha. The style of composition in these inscriptions is similar to that of even Kalidasa and Bharavi. Ravikeerti's knowledge of the basic concepts of poetics, figures like end rhyme, alliteration, paradox, hyperbole and metaphor is evident from the inscription he composed.

Another noteworthy literary piece of the period is a play, known as Kaumudi mahotsava. The play has been edited by Ramakrishna Kavi. The learned editor surmises that it is by Vijjika. The play describes city of Pataliputra, role of Kalyansvarman to recover the lost

throne after avenging the murder of his father by the general, Chandasena, the minister's plan to recapture the lost throne. The play has not only a political plot but also a love plot relating to the love of Keertimati, a princess of Surasena. According to some writers this work was composed by a poetess, Queen Vijja or Bijja or Bijjaka, the daughter-in-law of Pulakesi II, and wife of Chandraditya. She is also believed to have composed several verses in Kavyadarsa of Dandin. The relevant portions referring to this queen read as follows:

The Queen, Vijaya of Karnataka is veritably the double Sarasvati ! After Kalidasa, she is the sole abode for the sweet style Vaidarbhi. Similarly the greatness and the abilities of the poetess is also available in a few other stanzas.

Vijayabhattacharika is identified with Vijayana or Vijjika. She describes herself as a dark sarsavati. Usually the Goddess of learning is depicted as white. Her style of writing is compared with that of Kalidasa by the critic Rajashekara. The verses composed by this authoress prove that she deserves this high estimate.

Some scholars do not agree with authenticity of Vijjika's authorship on the ground of echoes from Bhavabhuti. This cannot be conclusively decided in the absence of reliable information.

The achievements and talents of another great sanskritist, Achalada has already been mentioned. Another inscription dated 729 A.D. refers to the grant of a village to a teacher of Puṣṭyapāda's Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, a system of Sanskrit grammar by king Vijayaditya when he was camping at Rakṣapura (Lakṣmānagar). (Doi Hist. of Skt. Lit. P. 477). This indicates that sanskrit grammar was being studied and encouraged by the kings. However, scholars are not agreed upon the author who composed this treatise on grammar.

Puṣṭyapāda is also credited to have written works on Jaina philosophy also other notable poets of the age were Uśasvatī (Tattvarthasūtra) (C. 800 A.D.) Samanta bhadra (Gandhānastī-mahābhāṣya) (not extant).

Works in Kannada were also composed. Ānandacharya wrote a monumental work called Chūḍaṣaṇī. Another work composed in the last years of the period was Tattvartharaja - Varttika by a Jaina logician Akalanika. He is also the author of Ashtasatī, Nyayasavinischaya and Siddhivinischaya. Akalanika has been assigned to A.D. 676 by some writers on the basis of other works. We may conclude that vedic texts and rituals were prescribed well in this period.

In Kannada literature we may mention the names of Lakula, Kalamakha, Mahavratsa and Saiva-Siddhanta. It is believed that saiva-agamas took their origin in this period. Even Vaisnava agamas were composed. The Panchasatra school has been assigned to this period. Puranas were produced. For instance the Bhagavata Purana which has a south Indian origin.

Section VI: (1) Important Cities and Towns

It is evident that Badami, Pattadakal, Aihole and Mahakuta were very prominent cities. Even political and military importance may be attached to them.

Towns and surrounding: Hiuen-Tsang observes "so much for their habits. The men are fond of learning and study both heretical and orthodox (books) there are about 100 sangaharamas with 5000 or so priests. They practise both the Great and small vehicle (Mahayana and Hinayana) There are about 100 Deva ^{temples} tends in which very many heretics of different persuasions dwell. Within and without the capital are fine stupas to mark the spots where the four Past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by Asoka Raja. There are, besides these, other sturas made of brick or stone, so many that it would be difficult to have them all. Not far to the south of the city a sanghama in which is a stone image of ^{Kwan -} known - tszetsai (Bodhisattva). Its spiritual powers extend (far and wide)

so that many of those who have secretly prayed to in
bare obtained their wishes.....⁴⁵

Bēdāmi was the Capital city (Appendix)

Pattadakal and Kisuvelal, according to a later record were the names of Pattadakal itself. The record places this town in Kisukad 70. It says that at a particular time Pattadakal was the seat of government and the chief town or capital. The district of which pattada kisuvelal was the capital included the whole of the narrow strip between the hills and Malaprabha; from opposite Aihole on the north-east to the ford near Banashankari on the south-west, greater part of the Kisukad district lay on the south of the Malaprabha.

Kisukad 70 comprised three important towns - pattadakal, Arasi bidi and Sudi. Among these, the most ancient was Pattadakal. The date of kisuvelal is carried back to 602 A.D. At this time it must have been an ordinary village granted to God, Makuteswaranatha along with 9 others. It was called Kisuvelal is found in Pattadakal inscriptions. It must have risen to importance after A.D. 696 as indicated by epigraphs.

Aihole, was another prominent town. It was called in ancient times Ayyavole. It is on the right bank of Malāpahāri or Malaprabha river in Hungund taluk of the Kaladgi district. In Sanskrit the town was called

Ayyapura. The term 'ayya' also refers to a member of the Lingayat community, and the term pole means river. In the 7th century A.D. it was a very important town. Afterwards it became an antiquarian spot famous for archaeological remains. Dr. Fleet rightly says that 'inscriptions still remain to be noticed in detail.'

Besides these several towns which are mentioned in Chalukya inscriptions are places of historic importance as is pointed out in Ptolemy's Geography.⁴⁴

(11) Buildings: Hiuen-Tsang observes, "as to their inhabited towns and cities, the quadrangular walls of the cities are broad and high, while the thoroughfares are narrow, tortuous passages. The shops are on the highways and booths (or inns) line the road..... As to the construction of houses and enclosing walls, the country being low and moist, most of the city walls are built of bricks, while walls of houses and enclosures are wattled bamboo or wood. Their halls and terraced belvederes have wooden flat - roofed rooms and are coated with chunan and covered with tiles - burnt or unburnt. They are of extraordinary height and in style, like those of China. The houses (thatched) with coarse or common grass are of bricks or boards, their walls are ornamented with Chunan; the floor is purified with cow-dung and strewn with flowers of the season. The houses of the laity are

sumptuous inside and economical outside".⁴⁷ The most enduring buildings were those dedicated to the gods and the houses, though commodious inside did not display magnificence.

(iii) Monuments: Monuments in honour of great persons were erected. One sculpture (Keerttanam) in front of a Chediya or a Chaitya in Annigeri belonging to the reign of Keertivarman II is available. Similarly, statues in public places to perpetuate memory of greatmen were also erected. An inscription relating to Kappe Arabatta has already been referred to. Incidentally, it is to be said that it is the oldest example of tripadi (three-lined stanzas in Kannada). Two other inscriptions commemorate a man (youth) of Badavi who was accomplishing what was resolved upon and what he spoke⁵⁰. So high ideals were cherished in this age.

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CHAPTER VIII

Pulakēśi II: (1) A Unique Personality in Administrative History

So far we made a survey of organisation of government and administration in the Chālukya dominions as far as the available material enlightens us on the subject. In this Chapter, it may be worthwhile to describe the life, career and achievements of Pulakēśi II who was a unique and outstanding Personality in the Chalukya dynasty. During his period of rule, administrative organisation of the dominions was placed on a stable and enduring basis. Pulakēśi was not merely a conqueror but an administrator, Statesman and diplomat also. It was he who expanded the dominions and established supremacy over the length and breadth of the kingdom. It was he who exerted much to maintain stability and solidarity in the dominions. He had set before himself and put into practice also the ideals of good kingship, oft proclaimed in the ancient works on polity. Further, he gave large patronage to learning, literature, art and architecture. In short he was the symbol of a united empire in Karnāṭaka - the first of its kind in size and establishment of supremacy and benevolent rule. Hence there is adequate justification here to describe the life, career and achievements of Pulakēśi. While making this attempt we have made use of the available historical material and in addition to this

a little conjectural matter based on the events also.

It is gratifying to note that among the first founders of the Chalukya empire, Pulakēśi I, Pūgavarma, Kīrtivarma and Mangalēśha strīve hard to maintain peace and security within the dominions which is so essential for good administration. In this direction Pulakēśi I was ably assisted by his sons as the future events of the dynasty indicate. However, Pūgavarma died early and hence Kīrtivarma I succeeded to the ancestral dominions and not merely continued the traditions but made the dominions extensive also. Mangalēśha as is clear from his dedication of the Vaiṣṇava cave at Bādāmi to the former, gave full cōōperation to success of the administration under his brother's rule. That Kīrtivarma was having good faith and complete confidence in Mangalēśha is also evident from his having breathed his last in peace, placing Manglēśha on the throne. It was only at the end of Mangalēśha's reign that he deviated from the ideal path and marred his career. Thus the kings earlier to Pulakēśi II had contributed largely to the maintenance of the dominions intact and make the work of their successors a little easy.

(11) Early Life

Pulakēśi was the eldest son of Kīrtivarma I. He was born probably in A.D. 587. This point may be

inferred from the fact that Mangalēśā ruled the kingdom for the years commencing from A.D. 595 at which year Pulakēśi must have been a boy of eight years.

The military exploits of Pulakēśi after he assumed kingship along with organisation of a strong military force for defence of the kingdom indicate that he must have received good training in sciences and arts during the life time of his father himself and which must have been continued by his uncle Mangalēśā also.

(iii) Name 'Pulakēśi'

Besides the personality who is being described here and bore the name Pulakēśi there was also another king by the same name and who was the founder of the kingdom also. This term Pulakēśi connotes several meanings. According to Dr. Fleet, the term means 'tiger-haired'¹. Monier Williams is of the opinion that the term is equivalent to 'to be great'². Another interpretation is that the term is to be read as 'Pula-kēśin' or Pola-kēśin which means the 'great lion'³. Whatever may have been the actual meaning with which it was in use in that period, we may infer that it indicated the heroic traits and martial abilities of the persons bearing the name. As though to conclusively support this inference, we may note here with propriety that one distinctive (and perhaps the only one discovered so far) copper seal of Mangalēśā⁴

from Hooli near Belgaum bears the figure of a tigress with a cub sucking milk. The tigress and the cub are depicted in lively pose. Generally the Chālukya seal is the bear. But the above copper plate and seal has a tigress with a sucking cub which may be explained that the sons of the soil possessed great heroism just as the cub sucking the milk of the tigress-mother would imbibe and exhibit heroic abilities in its later life.

(iv) Struggle for the throne between Mangalēśa and Pulakēśi

Pulakēśi whose name denoted heroism and bravery was destined to ^{face} ~~free~~ certain adversities after he came of age. These adversities enabled him to exhibit his talents and acquire everlasting renown in the pages of history.

We have already said that Pulakēśi must have ^{received} ~~relieved~~ very good training and education in the art of warfare, the use of horses and elephants both in his father's lifetime and also the regency of Mangalēśa. Mangalēśa who had been entrusted with administration of the kingdom till attainment of proper age by Pulakēśi did rule very beneficently and without a thought of the self, particularly in the early years of his regency. Himself being a warrior of great fame and given to an attitude of ruling the subjects well, he took care that Pulakēśi also was trained in the same tradition. It was only at the end of the regency that Mangalēśa made an attempt to deprive Pulakēśi of his rightful claim to the throne and place his own

younger son as king. This refusal of the throne by Mangalēśa^h was all the more annoying because Pulakēśi had to overcome the trouble which broke out in the home-capital. This civil war though a family quarrel in the beginning might have easily created confusion in the several quarters of the dominions giving ample opportunities for the recalcitrant feudatories and other neighbouring enemies to think of proclaiming independence.

As could have happened in the dynamicst histories of several kingdoms and empires, the civil war between Mangalēśa^A and Pulakēśi must have ^{Caused} cost a certain amount of dissension among the officers of the royal household and the nearest feudatories including the general public. A few who were tradition-minded and owing loyalty to the dynasty must have made it a ^{point} pains to support Pulakēśi's cause as against the group of self-seekers and opportunstities. Perhaps in the beginning of the struggle, Mangalēśa^h made an attempt to get rid of Pulakēśi by an easy method of sending him to fight against the kingdom of Kallha with inadequate military force. But when Pulakēśi could come out successful in this war and return to the capital with laurels, ^{mangalēśa} ~~may~~ also had to take recourse to other methods of getting rid of his rival. As can be gathered from the Aihole inscription Pulakēśi must have become indifferent and thought of going out of the capital city as an exile, thus

leaving Mangalēśa^h alone in the field and serve his own ends. The relevant portion of the Aihole inscription reads that Pulakēśi became 'aparuddha carita vyayasaya buddhi'^{h,6}.
 ('to wander in exile' E 3 vi Line 5)

However he must have been dissuaded^{had} from adopting this line of action by the veteran and loyal host[✓] of the Chalukya dynasty and encouraged to overcome the trouble by his valour and strength. As the events of history have proved, in the fighting which ensued, Mangalēśa^h lost his life. His younger son escaped for life. The entire army of Mangalēśa^h surrendered^{ended} to the victor and once again must have reconciled to the former position of being loyal to the new order of things.

What is worthwhile noting here is that the short interval of the civil strife between Mangalēśa^h and Pulakēśi did not shake the foundations of the dominions which had been truly laid by Pulakēśi I and consolidated by Kirtivarṇa I and for some years by Mangalēśa^h as well. The stability of the kingdom was soon maintained after the successful termination of the civil war by Pulakēśi. This fact^{accounts} allows for the well organised administrative machinery and governmental organisation of the period before and after the commencement of the civil war and which continued with further reinforcement after assumption of kingship by Pulakēśi.

(v) Accession to the throne

Pulakēśi ascended ~~to~~ the throne in A.D. 609. He styled himself as ^{brah}satyagraha, Mahārāja and Paramēśvara and subsequently proved himself by his achievements to be the brightest luminary and the most outstanding of the Chālukya kings.

Some writers have described certain details like Ravikīrti's father, Anandvarma—who was said to be the minister of Kirtivarma I, ^{and give a} graphic account of Pulakesi's wars with Harsha and Pallavas and ^{his} generals like Pratāpavarma and Santivarma who participated in many of his wars. All these are not supported by historical evidences and therefore purely imaginary.

(vi) Military Achievements:

Having secured the throne Pulakēśi sought to subdue the trouble^{some} feudatories and thus consolidate his position. Hiuen-Tsang speaks as follows: "His plans and undertakings are widespread and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission". At the outset he inaugurated his policy of conquest and expansion of dominions by defeating the Mauryas of Konkan, Kadambās and the Gangās. In respect of the Kadambās, it may be pointed out here that they must have been subdued much earlier i.e. in the reign

of Kirtivarma I himself. By the time of accession to throne by Pulakēśi, they had still continued to be a power to reckon with as all^{an} independent one. Therefore Pulakēśi had to defeat them again and bring them under his rule. It is also likely that they happened to be one of those powers who tried to take advantage of internal disorder during the civil^w war in order to throw off their allegiance to the Chalukyas. Obviously they did not come out successful as proved by later events.

As far as the later military exploits of Pulakēśi mentioned in the famous Aihole inscription, we may mark out three distinct stages. They were first to establish his claim on the kingdom and secure it by right; second to subdue the feudatories and consolidate his position and third to march ahead with wars for expansion of dominions.

Out of the several victorious military campaigns of Pulakēśi, it will be apt here to describe at some length, his wars with Haravardhana^{sh} of Kanauj^{qu} and the Pallavas.

(A) War with Haravardhana^{sh} of Kanauj^a

Haravardhana^{sh} the ruler of Kanauj had the supreme ambition of becoming the master of Uttara Patha' in which he succeeded. Next he turned his attention to the conquest of the Deccan. Says Hiuen Tsang: "At the present time Silāditya Mahārāja has conquered the various

from east to west, carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all countries and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops". The Aihole inscription also gives support to this. The relevant lines read as follows:

"Aparimīta vibhūtiśphita śaśantasēna
Manimakuta Mayukhakranta Pādāravindana"

Although the exact details for the actual battle which took place between them and the mode of fighting etc. are not available, we may surmise that the bone of contention between Harṣa and the kings of Madhyadesa was the Gujarat region. When Harṣa tried to threaten the Mālavas, Lātās, Gūrjarās and the Maitrikās of Vallabhi, they all appear to have submitted to Pulakēśi. This helpful gesture of the Chalukya king was responsible for the weak position of Harṣa. For instance the Gurjara Chief Dadda II gave refuge to the lord of Vallabhi Dhruvasēya II who had been defeated by Harṣa. This also accounts for the decisive victory won by Pulakēśi over Harṣa on the banks of the river Narmada in about A.D. 632.

The actual mode of fighting between Pulakēśi and his Northern adversary, Harṣavardhana must have been

fought according to the general practices of war which were in vogue in those times. It is also called the Kuta yuddha. Hsuen Tsay^{his} in his account of ^{his} Travels informs us that the people of Mahārāstra drove back the invasion of Harsavardhana⁷. However, the army of Pulakēśi was not only large numerically but had reinforcements^f from the territorial headquarters of his sons who were governing the Lata, Satara and Kurnool regions, who all made a common cause in maintaining the supremacy, very ~~ably~~ recently, established by Pulakēśi over the Deccan and styling himself as the master of the Three Mahārāstrakās'.

After the successful war with Harsa^h and the latter's acceptance of the river Narmada as the southern boundary of his empire, Pulakēśi marched towards the east and further south. He defeated the Kōsalās and the Kalingās. He reduced the fort of Pishtapura and subsequently attacked the Pallava dominions. The Pallava king Mahendravarma I was defeated and he took shelter behind the ramparts of Kāñchi. Pulakēśi next crossed the river Kaveri and entered into friendly relations with the Chōlas, the Kōralas and the Pāndyas in order to keep the Pallavas in an isolated position.

(B) War with the Pallavas:

The causes of Chalukya - Pallava antagonism have been stated already under Chapter IV. Suffice it to say

here that the warfare between Pulakēśi and Mahēndravarmān I took place on a large magnitude. The former obtained the support of the feudatory rulers like the Sindās, Guṭtas and a few other neighbours. Besides these allies and their regiments of soldiers, the Chālukya army comprised of a large number of elephants the strength and utility of which in warfare has been mentioned elsewhere (Chapter IV). 'Vyūha' and 'Kūta' methods of warfare were known and practised by the belligerents. After a long and protracted war between the two equally well matched powers, Pulakēśi won success by the use of his elephant forces. It is evident that Pulakēśi did not pursue the war as far as the capital city of Kandri^{ch} as Mahēndravarmān^{ch} sued for place.

In the military campaigns of Pulakēśi particularly with his southern enemies we may discern that he had a praiseworthy objective. His great ambition was to establish one united empire with a common administrative set up instead of rule of small areas by petty chiefs and kings in their own fashion. If this ideal could be realised, the entire country and its peoples could live in place. He was not ^{merely} prompted by considerations of aggression but strove hard to establish a common political organisation in the whole of the Deccan and ^P put an end to the spirit of Vendatta among its rulers. In the achievement of this great ambition, he considered the Pallavas as the main

obstacle^c in the way. Hence his wars with the Pallavas in which he succeeded at the first instance.

Thus Pulakēśi⁷, the grandson of Pulakēśi I considerably enhanced the prestige of the house by brilliant victories in the south as well as in the north. He not only subdued the Kadambās, Gangās and but by a naval invasion he captured Puri, the capital of the Mauryās of Konkan. The Lātas, Mālavās and the Gūrjarās bowed before his might. Even Harṣa^h recognised the ^{futility} facility of his southern designs after he came to know the progress^w and might of Pulakēśi. The only one power which could not reconcile with defeat at his hands were the Pallavas who were to cause greater trouble to the Chālukya dominions later^uon.

vii) Other Achievements

a) As Statesman

Pulakēśi was not only a great military genius but also a statesman. His relations with feudatories and administrative functionaries were of a very high order. Feudatory kings, likewise, regarded him with affection than by fear or force. For, Pulakesi adopted a policy of 'non-interference' in internal administration and provided a certain amount of freedom with ultimate control vested in him to be used in times of necessity.

The Kadambas and the Samantas of Konkan enjoyed his confidence and exercised their freedom, almost unrestrained in their territorial units. Thus Pulakesi could endear himself to the people of these areas and win their hearts. Similarly, Pulakesi conquered the Vallabharaja but finally restored the throne to its ruler and treated him with respect and fraternal affection. Pulakesi adopted the same policy of wisdom with regard to the kings of Malava, Gurjara, Lata, Kalinga and the rest.

Even in his war with the Pallavas, Pulakesi never showed the spirit of spiritual aggression. Though he was supported by the feudatories of Konkan, Rattas, Sindhas and Kadambas who also contributed to ^{the} numerical strength of his army, Pulakesi was not in favour of mobilisation of the forces immediately. On the other hand ^{he} instructed his allies to be prepared with their armies in their respective territories and provide solid help and support at the proper time. Pulakesi regarded that unity and understanding coupled with ^o loyal efforts in war among the Samantas, was more fundamental.

b) As a diplomat:

Even from his youth, Pulakesi had to face adversities and overcome them. He succeeded in his attempt of overcoming all adversities by his accomplishments. Soon after the civil war with Mangalesa ^{the} the home province was

subjected to an invasion by two disaffected subordinates? Appāyika and Govinda. Pulakēśi pushed a policy of bhēda and won over Govinda as an ally and thus defeated and drove out Appayika. Pulakesi's farsighted policy is also to be seen in entrusting the eastern dominions after conquest of Vengi and Pishtapura to his younger brother, Kubja vishnuvardhna. Similarly Pulakēśi's diplomatic talents is visible in his successive attempts of making friendship with the Colas, Keralas and Pandyas after defeating the Pallava Mahendravarman I, evidently with a view to reduce Pallava power still further. However, this event did not come about as Pulakēśi returned immediately to Vātāpi.

c) As an administrator

From the events of the reign of Pulakēśi as gleaned from the available material, we may infer that he was a capable administrator. After expansion of the dominions in all directions, he organised the administration of the territorial divisions of his empire and entrusted them to the care of competent and trusted persons. We have already mentioned that the Savantavadi and Kolhapur regions, Kurnool region, Gujarat area and the capital city and its surroundings had been entrusted to Chandraditya, Aditya, Dharasraya Jayasimbhavarma and Vikramaditya, respectively.

Further the office and functions of the Mahāsandivigrahi increased to an exalted position/which indicates Pulakēśi's organisation of the foreign affairs department.

Another noteworthy feature of Pulakēśi's reign was his attempt to consolidate the Chālukya power, in the Deccan. In this attempt he was not altogether successful on account of the disturbances caused by warfare with the Pallavas. However, within the dominions, Pulakēśi's reign was one of peace and there were no internal rebellions.

Hiuen-Tsang rightly says, "The benevolent sway of this king (Pulakēśi) reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty".

d) As a Tolerant King

According to the Lehner (Nasik district) grant of A.D. 630 Pulakēśi is called a 'Parāma bhāgavata' i.e. a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. He was also a tolerant king and viewed all sects and faiths with an equal eye. The construction of the Jīvalaya at Aihole reveals his reverence to Jainism. His patronage to Ravikīrti the Jaina poet also adds support to this statement. He received the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang to his court with all dignity worth the pilgrim.

e) As a Patron of art and architecture and learning

Pulakesi gave encouragement to art and literature also. The Chalukya contribution to cultural greatness and integrity of India is of varied magnitude and character. The Chalukya court patronised the renowned poets of the age of whom Ravikirti was the greatest. He is extolled in the Aihole inscription as "inspired in poetry by Kalidasa and Bharavi" ("Kavita-srita - Kalidasa - Bharavi Kirttin").

f) As a builder of a great and united empire

Pulakesi was, indisputably, the first Karnatak sovereign to establish an empire south of the Vindhyas and proclaimed himself the sole lord of the entire Deccan and Karnataka country including the Telugu country, since his times the Chalukyas had become a power to be reckoned with by contemporary rulers of India and foreign nations. By his policy of expansion and establishment of supremacy in the Deccan, he has attained an unparalleled and unique place in the history of Karnataka. He has a permanent place in the history of the region and befits the import of the lines of the inscriptions which reads as follows:

Uddhutā^{ta}māla chāmara dhvajāsata chhatrandha
Kārairbalaih
Sauryo^{ta}saha rasoddharit^{ta} mathanaihi
mauladbhis^{ch}dhid^{ch}haihi "
Akrantā^{ta}tama balōnnatim balarajasachhna
kañchipura
Rakārantirita Pratāpa^{ma} karodha^{ch} Pallavānam Patim "

(viii)

Relations with Foreign Powers

The varied achievements of Pulakesi spread his reputation not only throughout India but even in the countries abroad. The Chalukya emperor and the King of Persia, Khosru II exchanged an embassy. A description of this embassy is to be found in Tabari's History of Persia⁸. The relevant portion of the account reads as follows: "Two years ago the king of India sent to us in the 36th year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news and presents for you and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you and presented - don't you remember it? - an elephant, a sword, a white ^a(folcan) and a piece of gold brocade - when we looked at the presents and the letters, we remarked that yours bore the mark 'Private' on the cover, in the Indian language. Then we ordered that the presents and other letters should be delivered to each of you, but we kept back your letter on account of the remark written on the outside. We then sent for the Indian scribe, had the seal broken and the letter read. The contents were "Rejoice and then be good cheer, for on the day of Dai ba Adhan of the 38th year of the reign of Khosru, thou wilt will be crowned king and be the ruler of the whole empire - Signed Pramesha."

Khursu II in defending himself from the charges of his son Shiriyoh says that in his 36th year - A.D. 627, the king of India, Pramesha sent an embassy to the Court of Persia. This king assured the rebellious son that after 2 years he would ascend the throne of Persia.

Pramesha was taken to mean Pulakeshi by Noldeke. It evidently stands for Parameswara, an imperial title won by Pulakeshi. A fresco at Ajanta represents a scene of the Persian Ambassador paying homage to an Indian king. The manner in which Pulakeshi put his hands into the problem of the royal household in Persia and how he was able to successfully bring it to a happy end clearly shows the amount of respect and regard Khursu had towards Pulakeshi and proves the latter's international reputation.

(ix) Last years of Pulakeshi

After Pulakeshi returned from Kanohi obtaining victory over the Pallava king Mahendravarman I, he found a little time to attend to organisation of routine administration. But the Pallavas viewed with jealous eyes the rise of Pulakeshi to supremacy over the Deccan. They also desired to invade the Chalukya kingdom in retaliation of the first victory gained by Pulakeshi.

The last years of Pulakeshi therefore were unhappy. He appears to have taken ill and entrusted the work of

administration to Vikramaditya, his youngest son. Probably after he re^{covered} from the illness, he received the envoy from Persian and also the Chinese pilgrim, Hsuen Tsang to his capital. Further he also caused the construction of a Jinalaya at Aihole where a great festival was held to celebrate the construction of the Jaina temple which was endowed with grants and donations. The Aihole Prasa^usti was also composed by Ravikirti during this period.

What exactly happened after the above events and whether Pulakesi's first three sons were still ruling their territories as before or they were not al^vine have been ~~discussed in~~ shrouded with mystery. Materials are very scanty to enlighten us on these points.

Any way the circumstances in which the Chalukya power were situated in the last years of Pulakesi gave an opportunity to the Pallavas to invade the dominions. The view taken by some that Aditya and Chaudaditya, the sons of Pulakesi gathered their anⁱmies to invade their parental dominions and replace Vikramaditya's authority is also not supported by historical evidence. Sheer ignorance of what be^{fore} these brothers makes us still more confounded.

The Pallava king now invading the Chalukya dominions was no doubt Karasimhavarma I, son of Mahendravarma I. His army was well-organised and commanded by an efficient leader, Sirothondan. It is doubtful whether Vikramaditya

was in the capital city of Badami at the time of the Pallava invasion because the Pallavas could win an easy victory and take Badami, the capital. We do not come across the initial fighting between Vikramaditya and the Pallava forces and therefore the former must have been busy elsewhere to mobilise strength of his army or subdue rebellious feudatories. It was only after sometime that Vikramaditya encountered the Pallava forces, after they had taken possession of the fort of Badami and in order to drive them out and also to recover his ancestral dominions from the Pallava menace. However, Narasimhavarman took the title Vatāpi Kondan, as is clear from his inscription at Badami, put to sword a number of soldiers, plundered and destroyed the city. Probably Pulakēśi had breathed his last before this devastation could take place. His year of death may be 642 A.D.

The Chalukya power however did not sink soon after Pulakēśi's death. A short interval of 13 years ensued after which the curtain rises again on the political scene with Vikramaditya as king of the ancestral dominions, recovered by him, by bravery and hard labour.

X Accession of Vikramaditya I and Restoration of Chalukya Power

Prof. K. A. W. Sastry has made an appraising comment on the work of Pulakesi II. He says "...But his work had been so well done that the Empire he had built up survived even his fall and the civil strife that followed and once more, under his son Vikramaditya, avenged itself on the enemy who had cut short the career of Pulakesi II while it was still at its apogee".

The Chalukya kingdom was once again in a state of confusion until Vikramaditya restored order and unity. The opinion that in this task of establishing the kingdom once again on orderly basis, Vikramaditya was assisted by the Ganga king Durvinata has been found untenable on the standard of chronology. The loyalty of the Ganga house towards all the vicissitudes of the Chalukya kingdom is an admissible point of asset which is beyond dispute.

Vikramaditya was well fitted to the task of restoring the kingdom on proper lines. He first took care to restore confidence in the army and country and repaid the damage that had taken its civil institutions. He has gained a permanent place in the Chalukya history by re-establishing the former arrangement and by his own orders all charters and gifts to temples etc. The new

order that be brought into function appeared as though nothing had happened a few years ago. He also recovered the position of Paramēśvara, revived the fortunes of the house, led a policy of reconquest and expansion against hostile kings and handed over to his son, a kingdom with reasonable extent of tranquillity, prosperity and fair name.

(xi) Character of Pulakēśi

Pulakēśi was noted for bravery and patriotism. He led invasions to strengthen his kingdom in the early period of his rule and later he won the hearts of the people. The Aihole inscriptions of Ravi Kirti bears ample testimony to his military prowess. It was he who conquered several kings - Kadambas, Konkan and Lata and others. He had a great ambition to establish supremacy over Deccan and to unite all the small states into one political unit. This was the object of his scheme of expansion. He also befriended those whom he conquered - for instance, the ^MKauryas, and the Kadambas. He also possessed a fleet of ships which was stationed at the Island of Kavathi, after its conquest. From the 3rd century B.C. the Kannada speaking country existed an independent entity. But the consciousness of its territorial unit and political power had not fully asserted itself for some

time in the early period. Different parts like: Kuntala, Karnata, Punnava, Vanavasi, Mahishamandala and Konkana were closely knit together for the first time under the Chalukyas of Badami who named the extensive territorial unit as Karnataka, though the regional terms continued to be in use. "This constituted the core and home tract of the Chalukyas in view of the large extent of this United Province, it was sometimes designated Maharashtra. Incidentally it may be observed that the name Karnata has been sanskritised from the original 'Kannada' expression having 'Nadu', meaning 'Country as its nucleus'. Although there have been controversial discussions on the Maharashtra Traya Theory, it cannot be disputed that the empire under Pulakeshi II had extended far and wide to constitute "a vast empire."

Pulakeshi was affectionate towards his brother Vishnuvardhana and Jayasimha. This is indicated by the division of the empire into provinces and entrusting his brothers to rule Vengimandala and Gujarat, respectively. Similarly his love towards his sons and loyal ministers and servants of state deserves appreciation. His reverence to Ravikiranthi and perhaps to a Buddhist Tatagatha is unparalleled. His affection to his queen and daughters-in-law is admirable.

Pulakeshi possessed self-respect, to an exalted degree. It is this virtue that perhaps made him think of ^{max} unity among his sons Chandraditya and Adityavarma and appointed his youngest son to be his successor.

Pulakeshi was quick and firm in taking decisions which he did not change frequently.

He also possessed a stern heart but it was softened by the "milk of human kindness", as we can learn from his magnanimous treatment of cowards, and other disloyal persons.

He gave encouragement to Buddhist and Jaina sects, and treated them equally. His large endowments to temples, mutts, sangharamas, chaithyas, basadies at the time of his accession, and during his reign have served as living monuments to his spirit of toleration. He is said to have built a Sangharama to a Bodhisatva as is mentioned in the ^{inscriptions} Ayasole record, on which depends his name and fame. Badami is full of Buddhist and Jaina caves and temples.

Dr. Fleet remarks that Pulakeshi was "the most powerful and illustrious of the early kings".¹⁰ According to modern scholars like Dr. Sircar, "Pulakeshi II was

undoubtedly the greatest of the Chālukya house of Badami and one of the greatest monarchs of ancient India¹¹.

Pulakēśi is regarded as the founder of the first largest empire in Karnātak.

Epigraphical evidence is adequately available to speak of the greatness of this monarch. "While he Satyashraya, possessed of energy and regal power and good counsel - having conquered all the regions and having dismissed with honour the subjugated, kings and having propitiated the gods and the Brahmanas.... City"¹².

"His commands were restrained only by the limits of the three oceans "i.e., who was the king of the whole country founded by the Eastern, the Western and the Southern Oceans."¹³

Commenting on the success of Pulakēśi' over Harshavardhana of Northern India, K.K. Moekerji says that "the military success of Pulakēśi was due to the character of his people and his administration....." This observation shows how Pulakēśi had established a benevolent administration in his dominions.¹⁴

xii)
(xi) Personal Appearance of Pulakeshi

From the text
We do not mention about Pulakeshi's personal appearance. However, from the available fresco painting at Ajanta⁵ we may discern that Pulakeshi must have been a tall dignified person, with sturdy shoulders, broad chest and a brilliant face. His royal dress indicated valour and evinced respect and awe. He appears to have possessed an imposing and commanding personality.

xiii)
(xii) Hiuen Tsang's Account of Pulakeshi's
Dominions and his people

Hiuen Tsang¹² calls Pulakeshi's Dominion 'Mo-Ha-La-Cha', (Maharashtra), and describes the people in the following words: "The inhabitants were proud spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the Van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated and their war elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated the neighbouring countries with contempt. He was a Kshatriya by birth and his name was 'Pu-Lo-Ki-shi' Pulakesa.

The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Siladitya at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him. But Ma-Ha-La-Cha refused to become subject to him....."The people were fond of learning and they combined orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Of Buddhist Monasteries there were above 100 and the Brethren, who were adherents of both vehicles, were more than 5000 in number. Within and outside the capital were 5 Araka Topes where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and worked for exercise and there were innumerable other topes of stone or brick. Not far from the south of the capital was an old monastery in which a stone image of Kuan-Tsu-Tsai P'uza of marvellous efficacy. In the east of this country was mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheet summits. Here was a monastery the base of which was in a dark defile and its lofty halls and deep chambers were quarried in the cliff and rested on the peak, in tiers of halls and storeyed terraces had the cliff on their back and ^{faced} the ravine. This monastery had been built by the A-Che-Lo Acharya of West India. The pilgrim then relates the circumstances in Acharya's life which led to the building of the monastery. Within the establishment he adds, was a large temple above 100 feet high in which was a stone

image of the Buddha above 70 feet high, in the image was surmounted by tier of 7 canopies unaffected and unsupported, each canopy separated from the one above it by the space of three feet. The halls of this temple had depicted on them the incidents of the Buddha's career as Bodhisatva including the circumstances of his attaining Bodhi and the Omens attending his final Passing away, all Great and Small were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery on either side north and south, was a stone elephant and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing of these elephants caused earthquakes. The pūṣas (Pusa Channa or Dinnaya) stayed much in this monastery¹⁵.

Although some scholars think that Hiuen-Tsang wrote the above account from hearing reports, the very wording of the account itself does not make one conclude that the pilgrim heard reports and wrote. He learnt the history and appreciated the Marvels from a personal visit of the spots.

BEAL in his Life of Hiuen-Tsang describes the country in the following manner: "From this (Kongkanapura) going north-west we pass through a great forest which is infested with savage animals and desert, after 2400 or 2500 li we come to the kingdom of Mahārāshtra. The people of this country highly esteem right conduct.

The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is fond of military affairs and boasts of his arms. In this country therefore the troops and cavalry are carefully equipped and the rules of warfare thoroughly understood and observed. Whenever a general is despatched on a warlike expedition, although he is defeated and his army destroyed he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment, only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman, much to his shame and chagrin. So many times, those men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace. The king always supports several thousands of men of valour and several hundred savage elephants. When these are drawn up in battle among them they give them intoxicating spirits to drink, till they are overpowered with it - and then at a given signal, when in this condition they excite them to rush against the enemy. His foes are thus without fail put to flight. Relying on these advantages he holds in contempt all the frontier powers that contend with him for the mastery.

Siladitya Raja, boasting of his skill and the inevitable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince - but he was unable to prevail or to subjugate him.

There are about 100 Sanghramas here and 5000 Priests who belong to the Great and Little vehicle promiscuously. There are also followers of the heretics who worship the Devas and cover themselves with ashes.

Within and outside the capital there are five stupas, all of them several hundred feet (height). These were built by Asoka raja as monuments of the places where the four past Buddhas had walked to and fro."¹⁸

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APPENDIX (A)

LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS PERTAINING TO THE PLACES AROUND THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE CHALUKYAS

Banashankari and Mahakuta Mahatmyas:

So far we have made a survey of the Government and administration under the Chalukyas of Badami. Now, we intend to narrate two legendary accounts - the Banashankari and the Mahakuta Mahatmyas¹ - which relate to the capital city and its surroundings. These local accounts are available. Besides giving a mythological account of the two places, they contain an element of truth for which they deserve merit. One of these is related to the shrine of Banashankari and the other to Mahakuta and its vicinity.

The Banashankari mahatmya mentions the name of Badami and describes the story of destruction of the two demon brothers - Ilvala and Vatapi. The story part of the account may be summarised as follows. The two demon chiefs -- Ilvala and Vatapi -- inhabited the forest region in the western part of Karnatak. Their daily routine was to waylay the sages hailing from the north and invite them for food, in their abode. The sages would believe the invitation and accompany Ilvala or Vatapi or both. After taking the sages home, Ilvala would cut Vatapi's body and serve the dishes to the guests. Thereupon, he was in the practice of muttering a chant recalling Vatapi into

his former form as both of them were adepts in the art of 'mrityasanjivini' (bringing the dead back to life). Then the demon-brothers ate the flesh of the guests to their full gratification. Vatapi would come to life resulting in the death of the guest. Next day, the brothers would do the same way. This sort of atrocious activity went on for a good number of years until the turn of Sage Agasthya came. The sage Agasthya was invited by Ilvala in his usual way. He was served with food. No sooner did Ilvala serve the flesh of Vatapi, Agasthya muttered a counter chant, 'Vatapi jeernobhava' (let Vatapi be digested). Vatapi could not come back to life. Thus Vatapi fell dead at the present site of Mahakuta. Ilvala was taken aback and repented for having done harm to the good sages all these days. He fell on the feet of Agasthya and prayed that he should be blessed and that he and his brother should acquire lasting fame. Agasthya took pity on Ilvala's helplessness and blessed that the brothers were to get transformed into two hillocks. The two hillocks of Badami and Mahakuta at present are believed to ^{be} named in commemoration of the above event. Several years after, Pulakesi^I built the fort on the hillock of Vatapi and thus the city acquired the name Vatapi. The term Badami (or Badavi) is its modern name.

We are not to take mainly the myth as it has no other basis than that of a legend. But we may discern

from the story that the present surroundings of the city of Badami had not been inhabited for many years in the heavy past until Aryan penetration into the region south of the forests of the vindhyan range, with the advent of Sage Agasthya. Another point to be observed is that the author of the local mahatmyas was aware of the name of the city of Vatapi, (modern Badami). The name of Vatapi may be equated with Badami with certainty.

The second account is on Mahakuta, Mahatmya. This account describes the surroundings of Mahakuta. Such a topographical account shows the author's awareness of the region and it may be associated with the Chalukyas of Badami, with more definiteness.

It is evident, therefore, that Vatapi and Badavi are the names of one and the same city. It is also evident that the name of Mahakuta is also mentioned as a city adjacent to Vatapi or Badavi.

APPENDIX 'B'

ROYAL TITLES AND PRASASTIS

The Chalukya kings styled themselves by several titles. Some of them were the usual ones assumed by the kings after the foundation of the empire. Some others were those taken by a few of the kings to signify their conspicuous merit, triumphant victories and acquisition of power.

The Badami inscription of Pulakesi I provides the ancestry and mentions a Chalukya Vallabheswara who performed several sacrifices and built the fort of Vatapi. He was doubtless Pulakesi I. Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that the name Pulakesi denotes the meaning 'tiger haired'². According to Monier Williams the name stands for 'the great Lion'³. However, the name Pulakesi is a purely Kannada name. Pulakesi styled himself as Maharaja, Satyasraya, Hanavikrama, Sri Prithvivallabha⁴. Of these titles, the term 'Satyasraya' was held by all the kings of the Chalukya dynasty. In fact the imperial house was generally known as 'Satyasraya Kula'. The term 'Satyasraya' evidently means one who is the adherent of truth.

Mangalesa continued to have the usual titles: but he was known by a special title 'Pururama parakrama'⁵. This distinctive title evidently means, 'puissant in many

battles'. Kirtivarman extended his dominions in all directions. He won several victories in battles and after performing the Vedic sacrifices, assumed the title.

Pulakesi II is well known by a few additional titles which indicate his prowess and supremacy. 'Pulakesi's distinctive title was 'Paramesvara'⁶ or Supreme lord. Dr. K. A. R. Sastry is of the opinion that this title 'Paramesvara' was assumed by Pulakesi after defeating Harshavardhana. But some other scholars are of the opinion that the title was in use much earlier to and later on came to be associated with Pulakesi after his defeat of Harsha. But evidences to show that the title was in use earlier are not forthcoming. He is stated to have assumed the title of 'Paramesvara' according to the Hyderabad grant. It is significant to note that a few Rastrakuta kings bore this title also. Besides this title, Pulakesi took a few other high-sounding titles also, like Mahara^hjadhiraja and Parama Bhatara⁷ and These titles show his undisputed sovereignty and particularly, the last one, which means, 'Lord of the eastern and western waters'⁸, prove his authority over extensive territories. Pulakesi is also referred to as a favourite of fortune and of the earth. In the Aihole inscription, Pulakesi has styled himself as 'Vallabha' with the prefix, 'Prithvi-vallabha' which means 'Enjoyer of wealth and land or the husband of the Goddess Lakshmi

and earth. Possibly, this title was intended to represent Pulakēśi as the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Vikramāditya I assumed titles indicating Paramountcy. He styled himself as Mahārājādhirāja and Bhātara. Henceforth, the Chalukya kings were called by the full titles-- "Satyaraya, Sri Prithvivallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara, Parame Bhātara" which indicate their status as imperial rulers power. One or two distinctive titles of Vikramāditya are, 'Ranarasika'⁹, (Lust for war), Anivārīta (the indispensable and remover of obstacles), and Rajamalla (Brave among kings). In some other records, Vikramāditya has styled himself as 'Paramamahēśvara' or devout worshipper of Śiva. Another inscription gives the other birudas of Vikramāditya, which are 'taruna Vasanta'¹⁰, Samanta keśari,¹¹ and as one ruling Ayiradi. Vikramāditya is also described as 'one who became the favourite of fortune and Sri Vallabha, probably, after his conquest of the South Indian kings.

Vinayāditya took the distinctive title of 'Yuddhamalla'¹², in addition to the other imperial titles. He is also known by the name 'Samanta bhuvanashraya'¹³. The Balgane inscription refers to his still another special title, 'Rajasraya'¹⁴, (the asylum of kings). He was 'like the epic hero, Bharata, by being the asylum of kings.

Vijayaditya continued to have the usual imperial titles. Sometimes, he styled himself as paramabhattara' in place of Bhattara.

Vikramaditya II and Kirtivarma II continued to use the imperial titles. But, the latter took a few special birudas like Nripasinha¹⁵ (Lion among Kings), Parakramanka (Valorous) . He is referred to as 'Vanavasyadhiparanripati mandala pranibaddha visuddha',¹⁶.

Among the kings of the Eastern Chalukya kings, we may mention that Vishnuvardhana, brother of Pulakesi II, the founder of the dynasty, had the title, 'Vishvasiddhi',¹⁷ as borne out by his inscriptions.

APPENDIX 'C'

EMBLEMS

Emblems and Crests, usually engraved on the epigraphs of the Western Chalukya Kings and royal seals and banners are worth noting. The chief emblem visible in several of their records is the Bear¹⁸. It is said of this emblem that the enemies of the Chalukyas were made to submit themselves at the very sight of the Varahalanchana or Crest of the Bear. There is also the mention with records that the Varaha Seal was acquired through the favour of God Narayana or Vishnu.

The Gadval plates of Vikramaditya, for instance, has the Bear, engraved on it. The terms, 'Kundavami. Om' may be found in the inscription¹⁹.

The Togarchedu Copper plate has the Bear seal on it. The relevant line in the inscription reads, 'Hail'. Victorious is the body which was that of a Bear that manifested of Vishnu.'

A copper plate grant of Pulakesi II from Kamalagran, in the Malvara taluk of Patnagiri District, has a Bear standing at proper right.²⁰

Besides, the Symbol of a Bear, inscriptions also contain the figure of an elephant. For instance, the Balgame record of Vinayaditya²¹ (slightly blurred) has at

the top of the inscription, an elephant in the standing posture. This inscription is the earliest stone tablet having any emblem on it. This emblem which represented the Sēndraka power was used by the Chālukyas after the former became the feudatories. One of the grants of Vikramāditya II has a bear in the upper compartment facing the proper right along with the figures of Sun, the Moon, two umbrellas, a double drum, a conch-shell and the head of a Spear in the centre. The words 'Śrī Tribhūvana Ankusha' is also visible. The lower compartment has a floral device in the form of a lotus, an elephant goad, a sceptre and marks of Makaratorana or Paliketana²².

Another inscription of Vijayāditya at the temple of Lokeswara or Virūpakṣa contains the following emblems—in the centre, a linga and priest; on their right a figure of Nandi or with the Sun above it and on their left a Cow and a Calf with the Moon above them²³.

Another record found of Vijayāditya in an open hall in the same temple is the earliest tablet with figures of Nandi to the proper left²⁴.

One of the earliest grant of the Chālukyas has the emblems of the Western and the Eastern dynasties. After tracing the ancestral history and making reference to their protection and owing prosperity to the Seven Mothers, Kārtikeya etc., the record exhibits the Boar and the

banner of the feather of peacock's tail and the banner of the spear and the throne and the garland in the form of a sea monster and the golden sceptre and the signs of the river Ganga and Yamuna and other emblems, a sceptre and the marks of Makaratorana and paliketana²⁵.

Among the other insignias of royalty may be mentioned the White Umbrella, the Conch-shell, the Panchanahasabha, Double drum, Pincha, Spear, Throne, Makaratorana and Golden Sceptre.

THE BANNER ON THE FLAG

Palidhvaja was the flag of the Chalukyas of Badami²⁶. The Palidhvaja was a particular arrangement of flag in rows (Pali meaning a row) and was adopted by the Chalukya kings from the time of Vijayaditya Satyasraya. According to one of his inscriptions, it was acquired by his father, Vinayaditya, after crushing the lord of the region of the north, and acquired besides the Palidhvaja, the insignia of the signs of the rivers Ganga and the Yamuna.

It may be apt here to cite the observation made by Dr.T.V.Mahalingam who says, "according to the Adipurana of Jinasenacharya, the preceptor of the Rastrakuta King Amoghavarasa I (814-70 A.D.) which gives an explanation of the term Palidhvaja, it should not mean any particular kind of flag but denoted a peculiar arrangement in rows

of 10 kinds^d of flags such as those of garlands, clothes, peacocks, lotuses, geese, eagles, lions, bulls, elephants and wheels. In each direction a hundred and eight flags of each kind or in other words, a thousand and eighty flags in all were ranged in lines. Thus the total number of flags in the four directions was 4,320."²⁷

Dr. Fleet suggests that the Palidhvaja was the banner of the sword-edge. But it is not a convincing one.

Right to use of Palidhvaja indicated supreme authority.

PANCHANAHASABDAS

A paramount power was entitled to the honour signified by 'Panchamahāśabdas'. The five great musical instruments spoken of in Vivekachintamani are Śringa, tanuśa, Sankha, bhēri, and Jayaghanta.

A description of use of Panchamahāśabdas²⁸ as given by K.B. Pathak, though relating to a slightly later period, is worth quoting: Says, he "While the dancing girls of the harem rising behind came waving chauris on both sides; while white umbrellas, the Palinikēta banner and the banners bearing the figures of a Moon, a Sun, a lion, a tiger, an alligator and a fish and other signs of royalty were flowing before; while the five great musical

instruments and the auspicious drums were being sounded, and while the heralds, bards and beggars and poor and helpless people were being presented with gifts to their satisfaction, Vidyachara proceeded to the Chaityalaya adorned with a thousand summits alighted from the state elephant, went thrice around the basadi, bowed to the God.....and spoke thus....."

APPENDIX 'D'
THE CAPITAL CITY

The Capital of the dominions of the Chalukyas was Bādāmi. Mention of this city and many other flourishing towns in the dominions show not only its extent, but its resources and people also. Many of the towns in general and the Capital in particular were located at strategic positions. Hence fortifications such strategic towns became a distinctive feature from the time of Pulakesi I.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hsuen-tsang ~~who~~ visited the capital.²⁹ He makes a mention of the name 'Bādāmi' in his account. His account provides a few identifications which help its location. The Pilgrim in his account of the country of Maharashtra, comprising the dominions of the Western Chalukyas in the time of Pulakesi II, says, that the Capital borders on the west on a great river; within and without the capital are Five Stupas to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by Asokarāja..... Not far to the south of the city is a Sangharama in which there is a stone image of kwan-tai-tszai Bhodisatva." He says further that, 'It was situated about 1000 li or 167 miles to the east of Broach and between 2400 and 2500 li or roughly about 410 miles to the north-west of the capital of a country which is called in Chinese, Kong-kin-na-pulo'. This

place was supposed to be Kenkanapura, in Sanskrit. This identification has failed to be satisfactory, because the capital of Keng-kin-na-pulo itself has not been determined satisfactorily and there is no place of that name to the east of Broach.

Mr. Seal supports a suggestion of M.V.De. St. Martin and is of the view that the capital may be Daulatabad, in the Ex-Nizam's dominions.

General Sir Cunningham is in favour of Kalayani in the ex-Nizam's State, as the capital.

According to Mr. Fergusson, the capital is 'Toka phulthamba' or Paithan, which is about 220 miles to the south east of Broach.

Dr. Fleet made a thorough discussion of the above different views and arrived at the conclusion that Badami is the real capital of the Western Chalukyas; Badami is the chief town of the taluka of the same name in the present Bijapur District. By way of pointing out certain discrepancies in the account of Hsuen tsang, Dr. Fleet, says, "there is, it is true a river within four miles of the town--the Malaprabha; but it is only a tributary of the Krishna and it cannot be called one of the great rivers of India. And about 2 miles to the south by east of the town, there is a temple of Banasankari--with a variety of shrines,

a large enclosure, and a tank that has a cloister round three sides of it—which presents appearance of a certain amount of antiquity. But there are no indications of Buddhism about it and nothing to justify the supposition that it is Brahminical adaptation of an ancient Buddhist Sangharama. Further, the Cave temples at Badami are Jain and Brahmanical—not Buddhist. Again, neither in the town nor in its neighbourhood can any traces be found of any stupas. And finally, though the direction of Badami from Broach, south—southeast may be taken as answering to the statement that Broach was to the west or northwest of the capital of Mahārāstra, still its distance 435 miles is altogether incommensurate with the given distance and is quite sufficient in itself to exclude the possibility of such an identification. Badami, therefore, is undoubtedly inadmissible for the town referred to by Hiuen Tsang. In conclusion, he is of the opinion that the country which Hiuen tsang has described might have been called more probably Kuntala (in Mahārāstra) rather than Maharashtra itself. It may be likely that Kurnool was the capital of the country of King-kin-na-pulo because it is about 403 miles from Broach. The distance and direction to Kurnool from Conjeevaram is about 232 miles to the northwest by north. So this opinion, says Dr. Fleet sufficiently answers the statement made by the Chinese Pilgrim that the Capital of king-kin-na-pulo was about 2000 li or approximately 333 miles to the northwest from Vanchi or Conjeevaram.³⁰ According to Ptolemy (A.D. 150) Badami is spoken of as Badami³¹.

The term 'Vatāpīpuri' finds its first mention in the Meguti stone inscription. That it was made the capital of the dynasty by Pulakēśi I is evident from his inscription at Bādāmi. Vatāpi therefore, is without any doubt modern Bādāmi as is indicated by epigraphical remains. I may quote here with propriety the observation made by Dr. Fleet. He says, "The well known remains at Bādāmi are quite enough to show that it was in former times a place of much importance. Taking the old form of the name, Badavi, which we meet as far back as S.622 (A.D.700-01) the interchange of letters with Ba ta, da and pi with vi is visible." He is also of the opinion that an inscription discovered by him, there is a fragmentary mention of Vātāpi. Inscriptions of Pulakēśi I, and II and those of Vijayāditya emphatically state Bādāmi as their Capital.

VISITORS

The Capital city of Vātāpi or Bādāmi was also the seat of visitors and pilgrims. An inscription on a cliff of a rock near the street called Axeroni in Bādāmi records names of persons or pilgrims who visited the city. They were Śrī Bahupriya³², Govinda Vipra; Aksharaseru and Srinati Pra.....etc; At Bādāmi, Mahākūta, Lihole and Pattadakal, several short inscriptions have been found. They contain descriptive labels, interesting contemporary references to members of the royal family, feudatory Chieftains, State Officials, learned men, artists, teachers and distinguished persons in several walks of life. Another inscription from the Virupakṣa temple mentions the name of a visitor to the temple, by name 'Dhuliprabhu'.³³

The visit and sojourn of Hsuen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese Pilgrim to Bādāmi and Pulakēśi's court is too well-known.

APPENDIX 'E'
MAHARĀSTRĀKATRAYA 34

There have been several opinions among scholars as to the exact meaning of the term 'Maharāstrakatrāya',³³. The opinions of two school may be summarised here. One school is of the opinion that 'Maharāstrakatrāya' comprising 99,000 villages as mentioned in the Aihole inscription do not represent the dominions of Pulakesi II and that the term should be the name of a division along with those of other divisions like Lata, Malava, Gurjara and few others. This school is of the view that the division referred to 'Maharāstrakatrāya' should be to the west of Kalinga and Kosla. However, the Aihole inscription and the account of Hsuen-Tsang mention that Pulakesi became the Lord of Maharāstra comprising of 99,000 villages.

The other school points out that no record of Pulakesi speaks of 'Maharāstrakatrāya', as a division of the dominions of Pulakesi II. If the term is taken to mean the Maharāstra country as it was being called in those days, and if Pulakesi's empire confined only to this region, the extent of the empire of Pulakesi would be a small one. This is against historical evidence which indicate the empire to have been a large one. The supporters of the second school, say that Maharāstrakatrāya was the division shared by the sons of Vananka of

the early Rāstrakuta family and that Hiuen-Tsang who wrote his account of the Chalukya empire camped at 'Mehalacha', gathered information from persons there and came to the conclusion that the area where Pulakēśi and his army encamped must be 'Mahārāstra'; and that this conclusion is wrong. Further, this school believes that Mahārāstra was the same as 'Maharatta' which was quite a different region from that of Kuntala; so Mahārāstra was also a country quite distinct from Karnataka and therefore such a small country would not represent the extensive dominions of Pulakēśi II. Hence the term Maharastra should be the name of one of the political divisions formed in the time of Pulakēśi II. This division included Konkan and the region upto the river Varada and was one of the three big divisions of the Chalukya dominions along with the other two regions, namely, Karnataka and present Maharastra. Pulakēśi retained that part of Karnataka round the capital city of Vātāpi for being directly administered by him and entrusted the other two to relatives of the royal family.

A probable explanation of the meaning of the term 'Mahārāstrakatraya' may be attempted on the information afforded by the account of Hiuen-Tsang and that of the Aihole inscriptions. In the words of Yuan-Chwang the MehalaCha country is described as one having a circuit of 6000 li and that its capital had a large river on its west.

Naturally the entire dominions of Pulakesi II could not have comprised only 6000 li. The Chinese pilgrim must have had in his mind the country of Maharashtra. Its capital in those days must have been Nasik surrounded by a large river on its west viz., the Varada river. Taking into consideration the reference to Maharashtra-katraya in the Aihole inscription, we may say that the Poet Ravikirti, who composed the inscription by about the year A.D. 634-35, speaks emphatically in verse 25 that Pulakesi II "acquired the sovereignty over three Maharashtraes with their nine and ninety thousand villages". By the time of the composition of the inscription, Pulakesi II had defeated Harsha and had not merely acquired the northern territories but become the overlord of the entire country upto the river Narmada. Hence Pulakesi II may be said to have become the lord of Three Great countries namely present Maharashtra, Konkan, Karnataka or Kuntala. These three divisions extending from Gujarat to southern part of Mysore could have easily comprised 99,000 villages. The vastness of the empire of Pulakesi II is an indisputable point.

APPENDIX 'P'GLOSSARY OF TERMS OF ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONARIES FOUND
IN INSCRIPTIONS

PULAKESI I: British museum plates: At the end of the inscription mention is made of regular and irregular troops who were not to cause damage to lands donated by king. It reads, 'A-Chata-bhate-pravesyah'.

PULAKESI II: Aihole Inscription: It makes a reference two times to Navikirti as one noted for wisdom.

Line 36 of the inscription reads, "Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina revered in the three world the wise Navikirti himself is the author and the founder".

S.K. 169 & Goa copper plate; Mentions that Satyasraya Dhruvaraja Indravarman was the Chalukya Governor of Revatidvipa.

After his victorious campaign, Pulakesi appointed one of his brothers, Dharasraya Jayasimhavarman as the Governor of Nasik province and another brother, Kubja Vishnuvardhana as the governor of Vengimandala. Satara copper Plate: Mentions Vishnuvardhana the brother of Pulakesi was the Yuvaraja ruling the province of Satara in A.D. 615-17. In the Koppam Plates, there is the mention of the term, 'Prithividuvaraja' which refers to Kubja Vishnuvardhana.

Kaira Copper Plate: Mentions Vajravarman as the Mandalika of ^{Pu. II} Baguara copper plate: Mentions that Jayasakti's

father Wikumbhallasakti was the mandalika of the Chalukyas. Kurnool copper plate: Gives the title of Aditya, son of Pulakesi which reads, 'Maharaja Parameśvara'.

Herur & Kochre copper plates: mentions Vijayabhattacharika as ruling the Savantawadi region.

Maturu copper plate: Refers to a grant to Aluka king who had come all along from his capital at the request of the preceptor of 'Agramahishi' (chief queen) of the Kadamba king, Mahadevi.

VIKRAMADITYA I: Gadval copper plate: Mentions his queen,

Ganga Mahadevi; It also mentions his mandalikas as the Sondrakas, and the Chalukyas of Gujarat. Na-Nausari plates: Mentions Srasaya siladitya the son of Dharasraya Jyasinghavarma, brother of Vikramaditya, as Yuvaraja. Likewise, the Surat copper plate refers to Srasaya as Yuvaraja.

Sanjan Plates: Mentions Buddhavarma as ruling North Konkan.

Talamanchi Plates: Line 31 of the inscription mentions that it was written by Vajravarma.

VINAYADITYA: Tegurehede inscription: Mentions the name

of the maker of the record with designation. It reads, that the record of the grant was made by Ramapunya vallabha, Minister for peace and war. OR "This Charter has been written by Sri Ramapunyavallabha the High (minister) who is entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war."

Kurnool Copper Plate: Also mentions the name of composer of the record and his designation. It reads, "The grant was made at the request of Vinayaditya's son Vijayaditya who at the time was holding the post of Yuvaraja and who succeeded his father on the throne. This record of this grant was composed by the peace and war minister Ramapunyavallabha.

Harihar copper plate: mentions that the record was made by Ramapunyavallabha minister for peace and war.

The Sorab copper plate: Refers to celebration of victory and making of grant at the request of the King of Aluva. It also reads that, 'this charter has been written by Sri Ramapunyavallabha, the great minister who is entrusted with peace and war (Mahasandhivigrahika)'.

Dayyadinne plates: States that the record was composed by Sri Ramapunyavallabha, who also wrote the other Charters of the king.

Vokkaleri plates of Kirtivarma II: Mentions that Vinayaditya conquered all the kings of North India and acquired the signs of Palidhvaja symbolising sovereignty.

VIJAYADITYA: mentions that he made a victorious campaign in the south and acquired from the enemies Yamuna, Gangā, palidhvaja, Padadhakka, mahasabda and other signs of sovereignty. 7

No. 47-- a stone lying to north of village of Betapalle
(undated) States that the inscription was written by Singutti.

Herur copper plate: Line 42 of the record mentions that,
 'this charter was written by Niravadya Punya
 vallabha, the high minister of peace and war.

VIKRAMADITYA II: Karuva copper plate: Mentions
 Vikramaditya as Yuvaraja.

Mentions that Avanijanasraya Pulakoni was the
 Mandalika in the Province of Gujarat.

Lakshmeswar Pillar Inscription: Describes the Charter
 issued to the burgesses of Puligere.

KIRTIVARMA II: Vokkaleri and Ainuli Plates: mentions
 Kirtivarma as Yuvaraja.

Didagur stone Inscription: mentions one 'Kattiyarasa'
 which was another name of Kirtivarma.

Annigeri Inscription: Mentions the writer's name as
 Disapala and also his master's name as Kirtivarma Gosasi
 (prabhunasa).

Vokkaleri plates: mentions the name of the writer.

It reads, "by the great minister of peace and war, Srimad
 Anivarita Dhananjaya Punya vallabha was this Sasana
 writer".

APPENDIX 'G'**MORUM PLATES OF VIJAYADITYA SATYASHRAYA**

The Morum plates which are three in number was received by Sri D.R. Amaladi, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra State, Aurangabad.

The historical portion of the record closely resembles that of the Nerur plates published by Fleet³⁸. The portion relating to the grant of the Village of Jamalagama is damaged.

The record belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya Satyashraya. His other records have been published to which references have been made in Chapters II and III of the thesis.

The importance of the record is that it gives the genealogy of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi (which is similar to that of Nerur Plates) and mentions places like Rasana Pura etc. which are mentioned in Chapter III of the thesis. It is also the earliest known records of the reign of Vijayāditya Satyāshraya, issued in his first regnal year. The Nerur plate is dated in the 4th year of his rule. The date of the Morum plates confirms the date of the king's accession, namely, S. 618-19 or A.D. 696-97.

Translation

Ps. 1. Hail 1 Victorious is the form, which was that of a Bear, that was manifested of (God) Vishnu which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting on the uplifted right tusk.

2 - 7 The son of the Great king Sri Pulakesi Vallabha - whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the horse-sacrifices; who adorned the family of the Chalukyas; who are glorious; who belong to the Manavya Gotra which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hariti; who have been nourished by the seven mothers who are the mothers of mankind itself; who have attained uninterrupted prosperity thro^{ugh} the protection of (the God) Kartikaya who have had all kings subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the Bear, which they attained through the favour of the holy (God) Narayana - was Sri Kirtivarma, the Lord of the Earth, the Great king, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the subjugated kings of Vanavasi and other (cities) that had been invaded by his Valour.

8 - 11 His son was Satyanarayana, the Lord of the Earth the Great king, the supreme Lord, Supreme Master who

acquired the title 'Paramēśvara' by defeating
Sri Harṣavardhana, the warlike Lord of Uttarāpatha.

11-18 His dear son was Vikramāditya Satyaśraya the Lord
of the Earth. The Great king, the Supreme Lord,
Supreme Master, the Venerable one, who was also
his father's Prajñatanaya whose only aid was his
sword; who was anxious to conquer all the people,
whom he drove before him by means of only one
wonderful horse called Chitrakātha; who having
acquired for himself the regal splendour of his
father, which had been interrupted by a
confederacy of the three Kings subdued (like Indra)
with the thunderbolt which was his prowess. The
mighty tumult of the mountains (Kings) which were
the Pandya, the Chola the Kerala and the Kalabhra
and other Kings; and who had, the water lilies
(lotuses) which were his feet kissed by the
diadem of the Lord of Kāñchi, who had bowed
down before no other.

18-23 His dear son was Vikramāditya Satyaśraya the Lord
of the Earth, the Great king, the Supreme Lord,
the Supreme Master, the Venerable one (Bhattacharya)
who, having, at the command of his father arrested
the extremely exalted power of the Lord of Kanchi
whose kingdom consisted of the three (component)
dominions, just as Tārakarati (Kartikēya) (at the

command) of (his father) Balendusekhara (siva) did arrest the power of the demons, caused the rulers of Kamara (Kavera) Paragika, Sinhala and other islands, to pay tribute to him; and who possessed the Palidhvaja and all other mighty insigni of Supreme Dominion which he had acquired by crushing the Lord of Uttarapatha.

25-32 His dear son, Vijayaditya Satyasraya, the Lord of the Earth, the Great King, Supreme Lord, Supreme Master, the Venerable one - who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of the 'astra sastra' (science of weapons); who, his grandfather having been victorious in the region of the south, uprooted the thicket of the thornbushes which was the assemblage of his foes (in that direction); who, following the avocations of war even in front of his father, who was desirous of conquering the region had the edge of his sword worn away by splitting open the foreheads of the elephants of his foes; who was in the foremost rank in all battles; who was flavoured with the quality of excellent impetuosity; who drove back the bands of his enemies; who - while acquiring for his father the tokens (Pada) of the (rivers) Ganga and Yamuna, and the Palidhvaja, the insignia of the Dhakka, and the Mahasabha, the rubies and

elephants - having been attacked by his enemies, (who turned upon him), while they were fleeing, and having been some-led away (into great danger)- by his prowess, quelled the anarchikal disturbance is not depending on any other for help, came safely through his obstacles and tranquillised the whole world by the support of his own armies who, being then the Lord, became the asylum of the whole world by reason of possessing in all their integrity the three constituents of power, by reason of high-mindedness, by reason of having broken the pride of his enemies; and by reason of his blamelessness; who possessed the palidhava, which indicates entire supreme dominion, and the other brilliant (insignia of) mighty sovereignty, thus issues his ^{Commands} ~~compounds~~ to all people.

32-36 "Be it known to you; six hundred and nineteen of the saka years having expired and the first year of (our) increasing and victorious reign being current, and (our) victorious camp being located at the city of Rāsenapura, on the day of full-moon, of the month Vaisakha, by the request of.....aditya kotti sarma of Kausika gotra has received one thousand, prabhakara of Bharadvaja gotra obtained one thousand, prabhakara of the same gotra. To all these, who are well versed in the six angas (vedangas), has been granted the village which is situated between and in the western part of in the challanki desa.

- 36-38 This Grant should be preserved by all the future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to our lineage or to other families, as long as the moon, sun, the earth and the seas exist, just as if, it were a grant made by themselves, bearing mind that the changes of life and riches etc. are evanescent as lightning.
- 38-42 And it has been said by the holy Vyasa, the arrangement of the Vedas: Land has been enjoyed by many kings commencing with King sagara; He, who for the time being possesses lands enjoys the fruits of it! It is a very easy thing to give one's own property; but the preservation of (the grant of) another is difficult: (If the question is whether giving or preserving (is more meritorious act) - preservation is better than giving. He is born a ^owarrior in ordure, for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates lands that has been given, whether by himself or by another.
- 42 This (Charter) has been written by SHRI RAMA PUNYA VALLABHA, The high minister entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.

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